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J. K. Newman, *Editor*

*Patet omnibus veritas; nondum est occupata;
multum ex illa etiam futuris relictum est.*

Sen. *Epp.* 33. 11

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Preface

The University of Illinois was founded in 1867 in the twin cities of Urbana and Champaign. The following item appeared in the Champaign-Urbana *News-Gazette* earlier this year:

Robert W. Mayer, professor emeritus of finance at UI, supplies an interesting sidelight on the series devoted to choice of Urbana-Champaign as site for the institution.

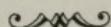
He writes, "Back in the 1920s and 1930s, William Abbott Oldfather was professor and head of the department of Classics in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Like all his LAS colleagues, he smarted at the way in which the various departments in the College of Agriculture and Engineering invariably enjoyed de facto priority over his at budget-making time.

"A man of incisive wit, however, he had the satisfaction, from time to time, of reminding the assembled University Senate that his was the only department explicitly cited in the University's Charter. Then, as now, Agriculture and Education were colleges, not departments, and there was no department of 'mechanic arts'; and all the 1867 Charter said about the institution's mission was that it should 'provide education in agriculture and the mechanic arts, not to exclude the classics'."

Little changes over the years. Professor Oldfather's experience—and his consolation—are ours today.

Once again grateful thanks are due to Mrs. Mary Ellen Fryer for her painstaking care with our contributors' texts and the problems of "desk-top" publishing. Frances Stickney Newman has exercised her usual unceasing vigilance over both form and matter.

J. K. Newman



Contents

1.	An Unnoticed Allusion in Theocritus and Callimachus SIMON GOLDHILL, King's College, Cambridge	1
2.	Circe and the Poets: Theocritus IX. 35–36 HUGH PARRY, York University, Ontario	7
3.	Apollonius' <i>Argonautica</i> : Euphemus, a Clod and a Tripod STEVEN JACKSON, Trinity College, Dublin	23
4.	<i>Heteros tis eimi</i> : On the Language of Menander's Young Lovers FREDERICK E. BRENK, S.J., Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome	31
5.	Reconstructing the Beginning of Menander's <i>Adelphoi</i> (B) MARK DAMEN, Indiana University	67
6.	Polybadiscus and the <i>Astraba</i> of Plautus: New Observations on a Plautine Fragment RADD EHRMAN, Kent State University	85
7.	The Weapons of Love and War: A Note on Propertius IV. 3 MICHAEL B. POLIAKOFF, Hillsdale College	93
8.	From Separation to Song: Horace, <i>Carmina</i> IV DAVID H. PORTER, Skidmore College	97
9.	Ovidian Shakespeare: Wit and the Iconography of the Passions JUDITH DUNDAS, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	121
10.	The Psychology of Uncertainty in Senecan Tragedy VICTORIA TIETZE, Westminster College, Pennsylvania	135
11.	<i>De Sublimitate</i> 30. 1: An Overlooked Pointer to a Date? J. K. NEWMAN, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	143
12.	M. Minucius Felix as a Christian Humanist MICHAEL VON ALBRECHT, University of Heidelberg	157

13.	The <i>Miracles of Cyrus and John</i> : New Old Readings from the Manuscript JOHN DUFFY, University of Maryland	169
14.	A Note on <i>Diogmitae</i> C. P. JONES, University of Toronto	179
15.	Where Did the Emperor Lurk? <i>HA, Hadrian</i> 16. 3 BARRY BALDWIN, University of Calgary	181
16.	Vainglorious Menippus In Lucian's <i>Dialogues of the Dead</i> JOEL C. RELIHAN, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	185

An Unnoticed Allusion in Theocritus and Callimachus

SIMON GOLDHILL

The relative chronology of the major Hellenistic poets and also of poems within each poet's corpus is a subject where modern scholarship is forced to admit considerable uncertainty. Although it is a generally—and, in my view, rightly—held opinion that there is an extremely important degree of cross reference or significant interaction between different texts and poets of the period, it has proved highly problematic to use the perceived relationships between particular texts to demonstrate with any certainty influence between poets or respective dates of composition (as, for example, the disagreement of scholars on the priority of Theocritus' or Apollonius Rhodius' treatment of the Hylas story shows).¹ In this short article, I want to point to what seems a significant echo between passages in Callimachus' *Aitia* prologue and Theocritus' first and seventh *Idylls* not commented on in the editions of either poet. It has become a *communis opinio* that the prologue of the *Aitia* was composed late in Callimachus' life, perhaps even as a prologue to a collected edition of his work (and thus later than Theocritus' *Idylls*).² Since the evidence is far from certain on this matter, as with other aspects of dating, I shall consider the relationship between the passages in question in two ways, first as a Callimachean echo in Theocritus and then as an echo of Theocritus in Callimachus. This primarily heuristic method of argumentation is not put forward with the expectation of finally clarifying the question of dating; but rather with the aim first of pointing out this unnoticed interplay, and second of showing the constant difficulties of using such echoes to prove priority or influence. Indeed, when the allusion, as here, can be brought under the rubric of

¹ For a recent study of our knowledge on Callimachus and Apollonius, see M. Lefkowitz, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 40 (1980), 1–19. On Apollonius and Theocritus, see especially A. Köhnken, *Apollonios und Theokrit* (Göttingen 1965). For a general, traditional view on chronology see T. B. L. Webster, *Wiener Studien* 76 (1963), 68–78.

² See e.g. R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* II (Oxford 1949), pp. xxxiiii–xliii; E. Eichgrön, *Kallimachos und Apollonios Rhodios* (Berlin 1961), pp. 64 ff.; and, especially, P. Parsons, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 25 (1977), 49–50.

Umkehrung, it might seem the very nature of the allusive technique that allows it to be read in this double manner.

It has often been argued that the description of the cup in Theocritus' *Idyll 1* has a certain programmatic value for Theocritus' pastoral poetry.³ As with the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* (with which the cup is often compared and contrasted), we are offered a particular sort of picture of a particular sort of world.⁴ Each of the scenes on the cup has been thought indicative both of the nature of the pastoral world described by Theocritus and of the *λεπτός* style of his Hellenistic poetry—especially in the way that the depiction of the cup (in contrast with the shield of Achilles) offers a series of small-scale, unheroic fragments with no pretensions to a holistic picture of the world.

The third picture of the small boy is especially interesting with regard to a “poetic program.”⁵ The scene of the vineyard itself echoes descriptions of vineyards at vintage time on the shield of Achilles and the Hesiodic *Scutum*,⁶ but is turned from any heroic associations to a picture of a light-hearted robbery of the child guard's grapes. It is of course the figure of the boy which has attracted most attention in terms of the programmatic nature of the *ecphrasis*. Callimachus writes that the Telchines say that he composes his verse ποίεις ἄτε (*Aitia* fr. 1. 6). This idea of writing like a child, coupled with the poetic associations of the verb πλέκει⁷ (like other words of weaving⁸), and the “grasshopper” (which has been seen as a version of the famous Callimachean desire to be in his verse a cicada rather than an ass⁹) have led critics to see in the picture of the boy weaving a grasshopper cage¹⁰ a typically allusive Hellenistic image, joining Theocritus and Callimachus in parallel poetic interests.

³ Most recently, D. Halperin, *Before Pastoral* (Yale 1983); e.g. “The ivy cup is not only an emblem for the range of subjects in the Idylls in general but for the thematic structure of bucolic poetry in particular” (p. 182). See also G. Lawall, *Theocritus' Coan Pastors* (Washington 1967), pp. 28 ff.; S. Walker, *Theocritus* (Boston 1980), pp. 30 ff.; C. P. Segal, *Poetry and Myth in Ancient Pastoral* (Princeton 1981), pp. 25–46.

⁴ On the *ecphrasis* as a world picture, see P. du Bois, *History, Rhetorical Description and the Epic: from Homer to Spenser* (Cambridge, Mass. 1982). On the shield of Achilles as world-picture, see e.g. O. Taplin, “The Shield of Achilles within the *Iliad*,” *Greece & Rome* 27 (1980), 1–21.

⁵ On the significance of children in Hellenistic poetry and art, see T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (New York 1964), pp. 158–62; G. Giangrande, “Théocrite, Simichidas et les Thalysies,” *L'Antiquité Classique* 37 (1968), 496 ff.; T. Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet* (Berkeley 1969), pp. 55–59.

⁶ See A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* (Cambridge 1950), *ad loc.*, who notes also the echo of *Il. XVIII. 561.*

⁷ See e.g. Pindar, *Ol.* 6. 86–87; *Nem.* 4. 94.

⁸ ὑφαίνειν (see e.g. *Il. III. 212* and *LSJ⁹* ὑφαίνω, III. 2); ράπτειν (see e.g. *Hes.*, fr. 34).

⁹ *Aitia*, Prologue 29–32.

¹⁰ On the cage, see Gow (above, note 6) *ad loc.*, but on ἀκριδοθήκαν rather than ἀκριδοθῆραν, see K. J. Dover, *Theocritus* (London 1971), *ad loc.*

There is a further cross reference in this passage which has been missed by critics and commentators. Callimachus in the *Aitia* Prologue demands that his skill or wisdom as a poet should not be judged with a Persian σχοῖνος (17–18):

... τέχνη
κρίνετε], μὴ σχοίνῳ Περσίδι τὴν σοφίνην.

It is with a σχοῖνος, however, that Theocritus describes his boy as “fitting together” the cage (and ἐφαρμόζειν is applied by Plutarch to poetic composition,¹¹ as the uncompounded verb is often used¹²). Where Callimachus uses σχοῖνος in its sense of a land measure, Theocritus uses the term from that key passage in the *Aitia* prologue in the different sense of “reed” or “rush.”¹³ In other words, there can be read here a characteristic Hellenistic *Umkehrung*—an allusion to one poet by another which inverts or reuses the earlier material in a pointed or witty manner. “Judge not my poetry with a Persian σχοῖνος” writes Callimachus, “I write like a child”—but Theocritus gives us a poetic image of a child who is weaving and fitting together his grasshopper cage precisely with the σχοῖνος.

The only other use of σχοῖνος in the genuine poems of Theocritus is also in a passage concerned with poetics, namely, v. 133 in *Idyll 7*, another poem which has often been regarded as a key programmatic statement, albeit one about whose tone and attitude critics have argued endlessly.¹⁴ After the exchange of songs (51–127), and the presentation of the λαγωβόλον to Simichidas (128–30), the travellers (in a transition of extraordinary abruptness) turn, and in the space of a single line (132) find themselves in the midst of a *locus amoenus* (132–46). The first description of this poetic bower is ἐν τε βαθείαις / ἀδείαις σχοίνοιο χαμενύσιν ἐκλίνθημες. Lykidas turns off (ἀποκλίνας, 130) and Simichidas with his companions lies down (ἐκλίνθημες) on a bed of sweet σχοῖνος in the *locus amoenus*. One allusion here that has been rightly noted by commentators is to Homer, *Od. V. 462–63*:

ο δ' ἐκ ποταμοῖο λιασθεὶς
σχοίνῳ ὑπεκλίνθη, κύσε δὲ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν,

where Odysseus finally reaches the shore of Phaiacia. Here the *locus amoenus* is the end of a significant part of Simichidas' journey—an image

¹¹ Plut., *Erot.* 769C.

¹² See *LSJ⁹*, ἀρμόζειν, I. 5 for numerous examples.

¹³ On the sense of σχοῖνος see S. Hatzikosta, *A Stylistic Commentary on Theocritus Idyll 7* (Amsterdam 1982), ad 133. Hatzikosta surprisingly does not mention K. Lembach, *Die Pflanzen bei Theokrit* (Heidelberg 1971), who discusses σχοῖνος on pp. 37–38.

¹⁴ See Segal (above, note 3), pp. 110 ff., for general discussion and bibliography—to which may be added N. Krevans, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 113 (1983), 201–20; H. Berger, Jr., *Classical Antiquity* 3 (1984), 1–39; E. Bowie, *Classical Quarterly* 35 (1985), 67–91.

associated with the discovery of an (intellectual) insight¹⁵—and it ends at a pastoral harvest festival (even if Simichidas does not “kiss the grain-giving soil”). Indeed, there are numerous echoes of the *Odyssey* particularly in the final sections of this poem,¹⁶ and the final two lines with their mention of the planting of one's winnowing fan seem to refer to the famous prophecy of Teiresias concerning the ultimate end of Odysseus' journeying. Simichidas' journey to the pastoral festival ends with an echo of the epic wanderer's prospective travel towards his mysterious final goal.¹⁷ The echo of Odysseus' arrival in Phaiacia as Simichidas enters the pastoral bower may, then, be significant. But, as Fritzsche noted in 1870 (when Callimachus' line was “fr. 481 Schneider”), the determination of σχοῖνος as feminine by Theocritus may in itself be an erudite comment on Callimachus' use of the term.¹⁸ Beyond this, however, could the reference to the term from a key passage of Callimachean poetics and Theocritus' own first *Idyll* be significant in the opening line of a description which goes on to invest the landscape with a certain poetic force (as many critics have noted)? It is the nymphs, who earlier were described as forces of poetic inspiration (91–93), that Simichidas addresses (148–50); near by the chattering cicadas (Callimachus' self-description) toil (ἔχον πόνον, 139), as Lykidas had said of his poetic composition ἔξεπόνασσα, 51; bees (142) are flying around (bees are images of poetic inspiration for Pindar in particular, and in this poem they bring honey to the singer Comatas' lips [84–85]); so too the song-birds sing (ἄειδον, 141) and the dove moans (ἔστενε, 141) and the holy water—a symbol of poetic inspiration for Callimachus in particular¹⁹—bubbles (κελάρυζε, 137). It seems scarcely sufficient to say with Giangrande that this lengthy description is merely a simple and direct way of saying that there was singing in the pleasant surroundings of the festival.²⁰ More precisely, especially with regard to Callimachus' use of σχοῖνος and Theocritus' own use of the term in *Idyll* 1, it is quite

¹⁵ See Segal (above, note 3), pp. 116 ff., especially pp. 127–29, who comments on the association of road imagery and the programmatic force of the poem. See also, in general, O. Becker, *Das Bild des Weges und verwandte Vorstellungen im frühgriechischen Denken* (*Hermes Einzelschriften* 4 [1937]), and A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik* (Heidelberg 1965).

¹⁶ See in particular U. Ott, “Theokrits ‘Thalysien’ und ihre literarischen Vorbilder,” *Rheinisches Museum* 115 (1972), 134–49.

¹⁷ See Segal (above, note 3), pp. 158–60, who discusses this image. This aspect of the final lines is not mentioned in Ott (above, note 16) nor in the debate between Giangrande (above, note 5), 493 ff. and Lasserre, *Rheinisches Museum* 102 (1959), 307 ff., on the meaning of the last two lines.

¹⁸ A. Fritzsche, *Theocriti Idyllia* (Leipzig 1870), *ad loc.* σχοῖνος may be either masculine or feminine. Herodotus, the only previous author to use the word extensively (sixteen times), appears to use only the masculine, but the feminine occurs certainly at Aristophanes, fr. 34 (πλεκτὴν σχοῖνον), and later several times (e.g. Dioscorides 4. 52).

¹⁹ See Kambylis (above, note 15), pp. 110–24.

²⁰ Giangrande (above, note 5) 491–92.

insufficient to assert that "l'idylle en question ne peut contenir . . . aucune allusion symbolique à la poésie de Théocrite sous forme de métaphores auditives ou végétales."²¹ Rather, the arrival in a place whose very elements are composed of images of poetry and poetics is in a precise way a fitting end to Simichidas' journey with its discussion and display of poetry and the ironic echoing of the Hesiodic *Dichterweihē*. Perhaps σχοῖνος is the first hint of the specially charged nature of this description of the *locus amoenus*?

The adjective ἀδείας, then, about which critics have debated at some length, may have also a further connotation.²² For ἀδύς is regularly used by Theocritus (as by other Greek poets) for the pleasantness of song, and specifically to link the world of nature and the world of song.²³ The opening of *Idyll 1* draws the parallel precisely:

ἀδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἡ πίτυς, αἰπόλε, τήνα,
ἢ ποὶ τᾶς παγαῖσι, μελίσδεται, ἀδὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ
συρίσδες.

Is, then, the "sweet reed" in *Idyll 7* also an expression to be read in terms of Theocritean poetics?

These are the only two uses of the term σχοῖνος in the genuine poems of Theocritus.²⁴ In both cases, it can be seen to have been chosen for a pointed and witty effect in an allusive manner typical of the relations of Hellenistic poets with each other and the tradition of past poetry. In *Idyll 1*, it adds a specific and clever point to the image of the boy; in *Idyll 7*, it may add a further subtle aspect to the complex interrelations of the *locus amoenus* and the journey of Theocritean poetics. In both cases, the allusion to an expression of Callimachus by Theocritus marks the continuing interplay of these two poets.

What significance, however, is there in this echo if we assume the more conventional view of Callimachus as writing after Theocritus? The prologue to the *Aitia* not only sets out to justify what has since become known as "Callimachean poetics," but also aims to do this through a network of allusions to other poets and, in particular, as it would seem at least from the present state of our knowledge, to Theocritus among his contemporaries.²⁵ His rejection of the grandeur of the heroic world and adoption of the imagery and metaphoric structure of the pastoral world can

²¹ Giangrande (above, note 5), 491.

²² Critics debate whether it means "sweet-smelling" (e.g. P. Monteil, *Théocrite* [Paris 1968], *ad loc.*), or "soft to the touch" (e.g. Hatzikosta [above, note 13], *ad loc.*, who has an extended discussion).

²³ See e.g. H. Edquist, *Ramus* 4 (1974), 101–14 for a discussion of ἀδύς in Theocritus.

²⁴ It also occurs at 21. 11 and 23. 29, both of which poems are generally regarded as spurious. At 21. 11, it is used of fishermen's nets (ἐκ σχοίνων λαβύρινθοι); at 23. 39, it is used of the spurned lover's noose (λῦσον τᾶς σχοίνω με).

²⁵ Bowie (above, note 14) in particular has recently emphasized the need to remember the important influence of the many lost contemporary—and earlier—works.

be seen interestingly to match Theocritus' poetic principles and practice of λεπτότης. But within this general parallel interest between the two poets, specific word plays of the one poet may reverse and manipulate the language of the other. Callimachus develops an image of himself writing like a child (6), but wittily reverses Theocritus' child guard's material of composition. Theocritus' σχοῖνος with its rare feminine gender changes significance with the addition of Περσίδι. With the characteristic Hellenistic interest in scale and distortion of scale, part of a key Theocritean image of λεπτότης is turned by Callimachus to a sign of the very grandeur of style that he is rejecting. On this reading, Callimachus' use of σχοῖνος is seen as a significant echo of a contemporary poet, a further *Umkehrung*.

What conclusions can be drawn from this interplay of language? A particular term is adopted by both Theocritus and Callimachus in passages concerned with poetics, but in different ways. It can be shown moreover that the echo has significance and relevance whichever poet or poem is assumed to have priority. It could be argued that there is a source elsewhere on which both Theocritus and Callimachus draw.²⁶ It could be argued that the term may have appeared with such a charged connotation elsewhere in the lost poems of either poet, and thus the allusion may need to be seen in a more diffuse way than I have claimed. Even if either of these arguments could be shown to be true, the shared metaphorical vocabulary of Callimachus and Theocritus in passages concerned with poetics is marked. The example of σχοῖνος shows again how the texts of the Hellenistic poets are to be read always in relation to contemporaneous and past texts, but also how these relations are unlikely to be simple.²⁷

King's College, Cambridge

²⁶ Indeed J. K. Newman has argued ("Pindar and Callimachus," *ICS* 10 [1985], 181–82) that σχοῖνος in the Callimachus fragment may echo Pindar, *Dithyramb* II, (p. 72, Snell-Machler), where the poet rejects σχοινοτένεια ἀσιδά. σχοινοτένης is used several times by later commentators on poetic matters: it is used for "extended" songs (ἀσματα) by Philostratus (*Her.* 19. 17), for ἔννοιατ by Eustathius (946. 8) and twice of "extended" rhetorical κῶλα by Hemogenes (*Inv.* 1. 5; 4. 4).

²⁷ My thanks to Neil Hopkinson, whose help enabled me to improve this paper.

Circe and the Poets: Theocritus IX. 35–36

HUGH PARRY

The Theocritean Ninth *Idyll* ends with a rather curious claim: “Those whom the Muses regard with favor Circe does not harm with her potion” (35–36).¹ Commentators on the passage have little to say, but two rather different kinds of interpretation have emerged somewhat fitfully. According to the first, song is an antidote to the cares of life. But that hardly meets the case in the Ninth *Idyll*; everyone, poet and audience alike, can be cheered by the minstrel’s art, whereas Theocritus singles out a blessing available only to the poet.

A scholiast points the way toward another line of interpretation. Theocritus, he suggests, alludes ($\alphaἰνίττεται$) to Homer’s account of the contrary fortunes of Odysseus and his crew in their adventures with Circe. Odysseus survived Circe’s magic because he was “wise” ($\sigmaοφόν$) and “beloved of the Muses” ($Μούσαις φιλούμενον$), while his crew succumbed because they were neither.² In other words, Circe represents a universal threat against which only the $μουσικοί$ may prevail, for they live under a special kind of dispensation: “Der Sänger steht unter dem Schutz der Götter, auch eine Kirke kann ihm nichts anheben.”³ Theocritus would not be the only poet to claim the protection of a divine shield, but the claim and the scholiast’s gloss give rise to a number of questions. In what sense are the Muses protective deities? How can Odysseus be adduced as a paradigm of

¹ Few critics now believe that the poem is authentic: see A.S.F. Gow, *Theocritus*, vol. II (Cambridge 1952), pp. 185 ff. But see also Claude Meillier, “Quelques Nouvelles Perspectives dans L’Étude de Théocrite,” *Revue des Études Grecques* xciv (1981), 318–24, on alleged problems in the text. I shall continue to refer to the author as Theocritus. If the text reads $\gammaαθεῦστιν$ rather than $\gammaαθεῦσαι$ (see Gow, p. 192), there will be a change of emphasis—“those the Muses regard with favor rejoice: those they do not, Circe harms”—but not of essential meaning.

² C. Wendel, *Scholia in Theocritum Vetera* (Leipzig 1927).

³ Erich Kaiser, “Odyssee-Szenen als Topoi,” *Mus. Helv.* 21 (1964), 200. R.G.M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard declare that “conventionally the gods protect the good man and the poet,” without suggesting what may lie behind the convention and the connection (*A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book I* [Oxford 1970], p. 262). Gow (above, note 1), p. 192, like Fritzsche before him, cites Tibullus III. 7. 61 without comment, but that passage explicitly refers to Ulysses, not to poets.

the poet's fortunes? And what precise threat does Circe pose, to heroes and poets alike?

Answers circle around the complex issue of $\mu\alpha\nu\alpha$. "Madness" fascinated the ancients. It also puzzled them, but they consistently linked it with disassociation; Circe's power served as one of their mythical examples of the threat of psychic disintegration. Particularly vulnerable are "heroic" princes, since heroism reaches perilously high and wide; and those fired by the energies of the creative imagination. At the same time, only poets and princes have access to certain Odyssean resources that alone can ensure survival. This, at least, seems to be the tradition which the Theocritean verses echo, even if the poet in this instance recalls the myth more as a rhetorical flourish than as an article of faith.⁴

But cannot Theocritus have meant simply, "song (the Muses) comforts the poet beset by life's cares (Circe)"? If "cares" can comprise life's most exacting challenges that put us all on our mettle, then this interpretation of Circe is attested in at least one passage. Tibullus, commanding Messalla as an even greater hero than Ulysses, cites the latter's exemplary conquest not only of Circe but also of his many other adversaries (III. 7. 52–81). He gives us a condensed version of the entire *apologos*, he refers neither directly nor indirectly to Muses, and he grounds his hero's triumph in his *audacia* (52) and his *labor* (81). The great man surmounts all obstacles, Circe among them. But it is one thing to generalize Circe's potion by making of it a typical challenge facing the hero throughout his labors. It is another, for example, to pair Circe and Medea as sorceresses whose draughts offer the despairing lover an alternative to the consolation of his Muse (Tib. II. 4. 55; cf. Theoc., *Id.* II. 15 ff.). And it is yet another to isolate Circe altogether in a context of poetry, attack, and defense. As the scholiast realized, Theocritus' image sends us directly back to Odysseus' encounter with Circe, and only Circe. The Homeric scene as a self-contained episode became a favorite *topos* in later literature.⁵ It served various rhetorical purposes, but always central to the *topos* was the theme of *labor* and divine support combining not only to overcome danger but to end in delight. The hero frustrates Circe's designs. More than that, he finds the means to enjoy her charms to the full, and without penalty. Circe is a special kind of "care."

We shall return to Circe and the hero's divine aid. As for the interpretation of song as alleviation of care, it is valid for such passages as Horace, *Odes* I. 32. 15, where the poet speaks of song as a *lenimen*,⁶ but

⁴ On Theocritus and the Muses, see Frederick T. Griffiths, *Theocritus at Court* (Leiden 1979), pp. 48 ff.; also Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969), pp. 146–48.

⁵ See Kaiser (above, note 3), 201–03.

⁶ Cf. Apoll. Rhod., *Argon.* III. 897 ff. On poetry as performance to alleviate harsh emotions, see Gilbert Lawall, *Theocritus' Coan Pastorals* (Harvard 1967), pp. 7 ff. On the application of this kind of interpretation to *Idyll XI*, see K. J. Dover, *Theocritus: Select Poems* (London

falls short in *Idyll IX*. Theocritus says that Circe οὐτὶ . . . δαλήσατο, “does not harm” (gnomic aorist), with her potion the man favored by the Muses. The Muses here do not help the poet cope with distress, they prevent him from being harmed. The Odyssean echo is appropriate: Homer's hero did not find consolation that alleviated or cured a condition of existing pain; he drew upon heroic qualities that enabled him to master a new threat and finally enjoy its source. Song as consolation anyway runs into the question, rarely addressed but crucial to the present study, of what distinctive blessings the Muses bestow on the poet. By the “Muses” Theocritus cannot simply mean “song.” The consolations of song are available to everyone, for any frazzled soul can turn to a θεῖος ἀοιδός to cheer him (Hes., *Theog.* 98–103). The therapeutic properties of a poem, from simple lyric to full-scale epic, may include its soothing rhythms, its didactic content (for example a cautionary or inspirational message), the opportunities it affords for identification with examples of heroic humanity, and the redemptive power of its mythological symbols. But what are the Muses for the poet, and the poet alone?

There is one form of consolation open only to the bard, namely the power to sing when all other faculties are in decline (e.g. Aesch., *Ag.* 72–82, 104; Eur., *H.F.* 638–40, 673–79), but that can hardly be the meaning of Theocritus' verse. Nor can the benefit described by Callimachus: “those the Muses look upon favorably when young they do not abandon when their locks turn grey” (*Ep.* 21. 5 ff.); that is, true talent is innate and endures (cf. Hor., *Odes IV*. 3. 2). We need to know what the Muses actively do to protect the poet.

What does “by the Muses” mean when we hear of Sappho as Μούσαις εὐφόνωις ἴωμένη τὸν ἔρωτα? Does she comfort her condition with song? With any song? Or does “by the Muses” mean “by virtue of being a poet”? Our informant, Plutarch, paraphrasing Philoxenos, had more than distraction in mind, for he says first “she speaks things truly mixed with fire and through her songs gives expression to the heat from her heart.”⁷ At issue is how the poet “gives expression to” (ἀναφέρει) her passions in the form of song, and so obtains relief. In the course of time, certainly by the Hellenistic period, the Muses became unambiguously metaphorical,⁸ an aspect of the poet's inner resources. The concept of the Muses as part of the poet's self might even be reflected in the Ninth *Idyll*, if there is any method in the comparisons that precede the reference to Circe: “as the cicada is dear to the cicada, the ant to the ant, and the hawk to the hawk, so to me the Muse and song” (31–35). These comparisons are of the type “like prefers

1972), pp. 173 ff. On the larger implications of poetry as therapy, see Bennett Simon, *Mind and Madness in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca 1978), pp. 87, 115, 147, 283.

⁷ Plut., *Am.* 762 ff.; cf. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, 822.

⁸ The foundation study of this development is J. Croissant's, in *Aristote et les mystères* (Paris 1932). See too Steele Commager, *The Odes of Horace* (New Haven 1962), pp. 2–10, 17.

like,"⁹ so confirming the likeness of poet and Muse; which is to say that they are mirroring accounts of the one creative imagination. To claim that the Muses favor and protect the poet is to imply a special power within him that enables him to overcome certain problems. Manifestly, a poet may fail in his declared aim, for example to beguile the beloved into reciprocal passion. Yet every "successful" poem is, however tragic its theme or unresolved its crisis, by definition a solution of some sort. We must distinguish, then, between the ostensible problem, which may remain intractable, and the problem which the Muses always help the poet solve, precisely because he is a poet.

Something of a consensus has emerged in the considerable literature on the love-sickness of Simaetha in *Idyll* II and, especially, of Polyphemus in *Idyll* XI, to the effect that they solve their problems by "working through" them (a Freudian concept) in cathartic song.¹⁰ The Cyclops is hardly distracted or consoled; he sings of his love without cease for much of the poem, and it is a painful experience. And, like many another ancient wooer, he fails to seduce his beloved through sweet flattery seductively packaged. What in fact happens is that by means of the Muses he scotches his μανία, and so, for the moment at least, comes to his senses (X1. 72). In what manner is this happy outcome attributable to the Cyclops' Muse? Polyphemus succeeds to the extent that Theocritus creates for him a harmonious song. That the song is harmonious few would deny; it is therefore enough for our present purpose to draw attention to two moments which particularly suggest that "by the Muses" means in the Cyclops' case "by virtue of being a poet." Early in the song we hear that Polyphemus φάρμακον εὗρε (17, "found a cure"). The verb εύρισκειν can refer to any kind of discovery, not least of a generalized solution (e.g. *Id.* II. 95) or of a medical cure (e.g. Soph., *El.* 875). It can also, in simple or compound form, express the notion of poetic invention, as in Pindar's finding "a path of words" (*Ol.* 1. 110) and in Plato's description of Tynnachus' paean as εὕρημά τι Μουσῶν (*Ion* 534d). Since Theocritus follows φάρμακον εὗρε

⁹ See Gow (above, note 1), pp. 191 ff.

¹⁰ Although a recent trend is to argue that Polyphemus is not really cured (the issue may be more semantic than substantive): see Edward W. Spofford, "Theocritus and Polyphemus," *American Journal of Philology* 90 (1960), 22–35; R. Schmid, "Theocritus 11. The purblind poet," *Classical Journal* 70.4 (1975), 32–36; Meillier (above, note 1), 325–27. Dover (above note 6), pp. 173 ff., echoes the long-standing view that Polyphemus "soothed his pains." He cites *Id.* X. 22 ff., but this passage is clearly a happy love song to sweeten agricultural toil. Ettore Bignone, *Teocrito* (Bari 1934), pp. 201 ff., finds in *Idyll* XI a sequence familiar in tragic drama, a crescendo toward *limite di follia* before the moment of sudden catharsis that immediately follows. E. B. Holtsmark emphasizes the Cyclops' Apollonian act of self-discovery ("Poetry as Self-Enlightenment: Theocritus 11," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 97 [1966], 253–59). (On therapy as self-knowledge, see Simon [above n. 6], pp. 141–43). See also Anna Rist, *The Poems of Theocritus* (Chapel Hill 1978), pp. 102–04; and F. T. Griffiths, "Poetry as Pharmakon in Theocritus Idyll II," *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies Presented to Bernard M. W. Knox* (New York 1979), pp. 81 ff.

immediately with ἔξειδε ("he began to sing"), we are encouraged to hear an allusion to poetic invention. What Polyphemus discovers is a φάρμακον. The term is most appropriate in a text that echoes medical practice,¹¹ but it also suggests song as a spell, an ἐπασιδή (cf. Callim., *Ep.* 46. 1), a construction of magically compelling power that works inexorably on the singer himself, bringing him to his senses and so curing him of his μωνία (*XI*. 72).

Toward the close of the poem an editorial comment sums up how the Cyclops' φάρμακον works: "and so he ἐποίμαινεν" his passion (80). The verb ποιμαίνειν, "to shepherd," carries the associated meanings of "soothe," "beguile," "cheat" in a number of passages; so *LJ* interpret its use in the Eleventh *Idyll*. But, as Gow noted, the meaning "keep under control" or "guide in the right way" is also surely present.¹² In view of the Cyclops' occupation, we take seriously the pleasant pun in the verb's literal meaning. As early as Homer ποιμήν, a shepherd, served as a metaphor for kings (e.g. *II. II.* 243), denoting a power to master, order, control what would otherwise be inclined to behave randomly, and so chaotically. This is also the characteristic power of poetry itself. Just as φάρμακον εὗρε is followed by ἔξειδε, so ἐποίμαινεν is followed by μουσίσδων (81 ff.).¹³ We remember that νόμος ("strain") and νομός ("pasture") are etymologically related as expressions of order. What Polyphemus "shepherds" is his erotic μωνία, achieving through his art an awareness of his proper place in the scheme of things (Galatea belongs to the sea, he to the land) and emotional equilibrium.

Again, however, we confront the question of what, if anything, distinguishes Polyphemus from other ailing lovers with remedial music at their disposal. Cannot his audience experience passions similar to his and, through the power of his song, find similar release? Does Polyphemus' cathartic experience really enable us to understand how the poet himself is to be understood as specially blessed?

It does only if we concentrate on the poet's creative experience itself as something denied, even vicariously, to his audience. It is an essential paradox of art, as Aristotle well knew, that it does not obliterate painful experiences, but turns them into beautifully tolerable forms.¹⁴ If that paradox is, or usually is, a source of gratification for the listener, it is crucially and excruciatingly redemptive for the inspired imagination that brings art into being. Not that the ancients knew a great deal about what

¹¹ On medical imagery in the *Idyll*, see especially H. Erbse, "Dichtkunst und Medizin in Theokrits 11 Idyll," *Mus. Helv.* 22 (1965), 232–36; also Meillier (above, note 1), 325–27.

¹² Gow (above, note 1), p. 220. For a full consideration of possible meanings of ποιμαίνειν, see Pierre Monteil, *Théocrite* (Paris 1968), p. 139.

¹³ The verb ποιμαίνειν is closely linked with the poet's task at Pind., *Ol.* 11. 8–9: τὰ μὲν ἀμετέρα γλῶσσα ποιμαίνειν ἔθέλει (a reference to praise without envy).

¹⁴ ἡ γὰρ αὐτὰ λυπηρῶς ὄρῶμεν, τούτων τὰς εἰκόνας τὰς μάλιστα ἡκριβωμένας χαίρομεν θεωρούντες (*Poet.* 1448b10).

inspiration is, nor that we are much wiser than they. But, as Bennett Simon has well observed, "Greek culture stood in awe of creativity."¹⁵ Systematic thinkers tried, perplexedly, to articulate a μανία of inspiration that is somehow not a disease but a blessing. And artists found a series of powerful images, of which the encounter between Odysseus and Circe is one, to express their intuitions about something that mattered greatly while remaining largely incomprehensible.

The Eleventh *Idyll* makes a number of points, at least indirectly: that art as process is therapeutic and mysteriously so; that the poet's pain, even thoughts of suicide and fear of death, are inseparable from the poem's beauty and the pleasure it gives; that the poet redeems the pain by finding a shape to "work it out"; that the result is, for the poet, self-knowledge and emotional stability. At the same time, the Cyclops is not cured forever. As lovers, he and Galatea illustrate the fluctuating pattern of erotic flight and pursuit (cf. *Id.* VI. 6–19). And as poet, Polyphemus succeeds here as he failed before and might fail again; poetic "cure" can be only temporary, since each act of creativity is an opening of oneself to a new chaos and a new struggle to transform it into art, and so to redeem it. And yet, as long as he proves himself to be a ποιητής, a "maker," the poet is more sure of salvation than the rest of us. Or so the artists themselves believe. Mr. Graham Greene is surely not the first, nor Mr. Philip Larkin the last, to wonder how those without a creative gift survive the assaults of a μανία that is inescapably part of the human condition, and yet also, for good as well as ill, a special power in the artist's imagination. In the Eleventh *Idyll* song is both a symptom of the Cyclops' problem (13 ff.) and the means to resolve it (17 ff.). This apparent contradiction has puzzled some commentators,¹⁶ but it is an instance where the Muse reveals several sides of her ambiguous nature. The Greeks used the same word, πάθος, for "what happens" and for "emotion," that is, for the event and for the feelings it gives rise to; these in turn generate the urge to compose. "Ἐρως as the object of song is the clearest example—external force, internal response, painful experience rehearsed, the impetus to "compose."¹⁷ The Cyclops' song is erotic μανία rehearsed and therefore relieved. It is also the μανία of inspirational energy forged out of pain. And it is the drive to compose marshalled against the forces of dislocation.

There are therefore different levels at which a poem may be said to succeed. The poet who fails in his ostensible object, for example to win the affections of his beloved, may at least claim that his song has served him as an anodyne. But he may, like Medea and Tibullus, admit that not even that

¹⁵ Simon (above, note 6), p. 150.

¹⁶ On the double role of song, see Ph.-E. Legrand, *Études sur Théocrite* (Paris 1898), pp. 70–75. Gow too (above, note 1), p. 211, finds the contradiction intolerable.

¹⁷ "Love makes poets" (*Eur.*, *fr.* 663; see Gow, above, note 1, p. 209, on Nicias' version). On the broad question of emotion and art, see Horace: *format enim Natura prius nos intus ad omnem/fortunarum habitum . . . /post effert animi motus interprete lingua* (A.P. 108–11).

measure of consolation can always be achieved (Apoll., *Argon.* III. 948 ff.; Tib. II. 4. 15).¹⁸ But we must not confuse thematic and aesthetic success. Sometimes they coincide, for example in tragedies like *Oedipus the King*¹⁹ which explore sickness and its cure. Very often, however, lyric art in particular relishes the irremedial condition of its sentiments. The Eleventh *Idyll* is a song of sickness and cure, but if it resembles tragedy it does so as an amusing parody.²⁰ One of the reasons why the Muse cures here rather than merely deadens the singer's pain is surely because it is offered to a doctor familiar with medical processes and used to thinking of disease and cure,²¹ while also himself "beloved of the Muses," a "scion of lovely-voiced Graces" (*Id.* XI. 6; XXVIII. 7). The Cyclops' song is both the rehearsal of pain and the means to its cure. It fails in its ostensible object, the seduction of Galatea, yet succeeds anyway because Polyphemus hits on the secret of poetic invention. The Idyll is a striking example of poetry's peculiar ability to triumph over itself in creating ἀρμονία:²² in Longinus' words τέχνη brings to order the poet's "nature," his φύσις, in its sublime form ἐκβολὴ τοῦ δαιμονίου πνεύματος, "transportation by divine energy" (II. 1–2, XXXIII. 5).

The Muse, then, can mean "song" as a delightful experience able to reduce care. More profoundly, the Muse can personify the creative imagination, something unique to the creator. Ancient iconography often places the Muse, whether song or inspiration, in an agonistic setting. In particular, she keeps her favorites free from harm, on more than one occasion shielding them against the designs of Circe. Circe's classic encounter is with Odysseus in the tenth book of the *Odyssey*. It is an encounter that has nothing to do explicitly with the Muses, but the scholiast's suggestion that there is a link is well founded. Later accounts merely made the link explicit.

As the *Odyssey* represents it, Odysseus' visit to Aeaea is one in a series of scenes that test the hero's identity against less or more civilized experiences and describe his triumphs. That the divine help he receives suggests "double determination" is an argument that today scarcely needs to be documented. Ancient commentators went further, reducing the Homeric gods to personifications of the hero's inner qualities, and could do so without fatally violating the spirit of the original. A critical tradition interpreted Hermes as λόγος and the *moly* he gives Odysseus as ἀρετή or

¹⁸ And cf. Theoc., *Id.* III, where the poet remains dejected, despite the hopeful example of Atalanta and Hippomanes.

¹⁹ Bignone (above, note 10), p. 202.

²⁰ E.g., the motif of suicidal despair of *Id.* III. 53 ff. ("I'll lie here and die") becomes "I'll tell [my mother] my head and feet hurt, so she may suffer as I suffer" (XI. 67–71). Vergil's Second Eclogue (69) provides a more serious parallel.

²¹ See Gow (above, note 1), p. 219, on σφύσδειν at 71.

²² Longinus calls composition a kind of "ἀρμονία of words" (XXXIX. 3).

λόγος.²³ Which is to say that the hero's success against Circe is one example of the theme that runs through the entire *Odyssey* and indeed ancient culture, order as the supreme virtue. The erotic focus in this episode is unmistakable, to the extent that later accounts took Circe as a type of the "bewitching" *hetaira* and the crew's submission as ἐξ ἡδονῆς ἀλογία.²⁴ We may add that Odysseus not only tames, he finally benefits from what was for his crew merely an enormous threat, the sexual energy of a beautiful goddess who would turn her victims into fawning beasts. The hero triumphs because he applies against female wiles the Odyssean qualities of foresight, preparation, resolve, and masculine aggression (his drawn sword representing, not for the only time in ancient art and literature, both martial and phallic energy).

If there is a connection with art, it begins with the fact that the hero Odysseus is also no mean poet (*Od.* XI. 368).²⁵ Hesiod's account of the relation between the Muses (specifically Calliope) and princes is not as clear as it might be (*Theog.* 77–93).²⁶ He attributes to βασιλεῖς the gift of wise speech from which flow wise judgments in court. Beyond that, we may think of the extraordinary nature of heroic energy, comparable to artistic energy, and of the not rare conjunction of the two in the same man. We recall not only soldier-poets like Archilochus, but the heroization of Sophocles (and the perhaps heroizing belief in Vergil's magical powers that sprang up after his death). Both Achilles and Odysseus sing as well as act. The latter, the very ideal of the civilized man, better exemplifies the connection. As hero he must harness the energies of a Circe to his own advantage and to the larger demands of civilized life. As poet he must remember the past in all its painful details and reassemble them in song, shaping its enormous energies, again in the interests of personal and communal order. The Muses' associations with ὄρμονία apply at each level. Odysseus' skills as a poet reflect his larger ability to embody the value that is centrally espoused, threatened, and restored throughout the *Odyssey*. Two images may be particularly relevant here: the oath that he forces upon Circe, since the oath is a delicate instrument of rational, civilized life, yet grounded in and guarded by the Furies, those embodiments of chthonic power; and Odysseus himself, "bound" as he enjoys the immensely threatening and attractive song of the Sirens, master of himself and of the music.²⁷

²³ See Kaiser (above, note 3), 208–10.

²⁴ See Kaiser (above, note 3), 201, 203. Servius says of Circe (*Aen.* VII. 19): *haec libidine sua et blandimentis homines in ferinam vitam deducebat*.

²⁵ A later tradition has him offer "spells and binding songs" to help the Cyclops in his courtship of Galatea: see Dover (above, note 6), p. 174.

²⁶ See M. L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford 1966), pp. 181 ff.

²⁷ Homer is silent on the Siren's instrument of death (one supposes shipwreck and cannibalism); he speaks only of the danger of their "voice" and "song" (*Od.* X. 236; cf. 472).

Odysseus' visit to Circe's isle resembles, in origin probably was, a crossing into Hades itself,²⁸ and it is its chthonic center that makes the Circe episode particularly relevant to notions of art. When Plato describes the poet as ἐρμηνεὺς τῶν θεῶν (*Ion*, 534c), we are reminded that Hermes was not merely a glorified messenger boy,²⁹ but the personification of what connects chthonic, mortal, and Olympian realms of existence and of the relevance of this connection to the mediating role of seer and poet.³⁰ At this level, the contest between Odysseus and Circe takes on pointed significance as a contest between Hermes and Circe: θεός against θεός, magic against magic, power against power. Circe is a singer, a spellbinder,³¹ and a source of information who knows all about the Sirens and all about Hades. She is a θεός yet one completely remote from the rational imperatives of Olympian structure. Her locale is ἱερός (*Od.* X. 275), "infused with power," but totally isolated, her palace a demonic parody of the civilized palace. What she threatens is to transform. Unlike his crew, Odysseus does not "forget his homeland,"³² he is not changed from man into beast, he does not become "unmanned" in intercourse³³ (*ἀνήνορα*, X. 301). This erotic imagery of dislocation may also remind us that disassociation lies at the heart of triumphant μονία in all its forms. One either avoids it, or one encounters it in some way and survives it. Heroes and poets must take the second route. It is Hermes who ensures Odysseus' salvation. He is also a θεός, like Circe chthonic and magical in some degree but also, unlike Circe and like the Apollonian Muses, Olympian, rational, constructive. Not surprisingly he becomes a patron god of poets.

The contest between Odysseus and Circe occupied no slight place in the ancient imagination and was entirely relevant to notions of art. We

²⁸ See Ch. Mugler, "Circe et la Nécessité," *Annales de la Faculté de l'Université de Nice* (1979), 59–65.

²⁹ See F.J.M. De Waele, *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity* (Ghent 1927), p. 32. He compares *Il.* XXIV.33 ff.; *Od.* V.28 ff.; 24. 1 ff., but Circe and the magic *moly* establish a unique context relevant to magic and art. See Norman O. Brown's argument that the pre-Homeric herald was a "sound maker" like the bard, that the origins of song and poetry are likely to be found in the intoned formulae of magical incantations, and that it is not surprising therefore to find a deity who is at once herald, magician, and patron of poets (*Hermes The Thief* [New York 1947], pp. 31 ff.).

³⁰ Horace calls the poet *sacer interpresque deorum* (*A.P.* 391), and *vir Mercurialis* (*Odes* II. 17. 29 ff.). Commager (above, note 8) notes that all the gods who protect Horace—Mercury, Bacchus, Faunus—have something to do with poetry (p. 342).

³¹ *Od.* X. 221. Tibullus emphasizes the point: [Circe] *apta vel herbis/ aptaque vel cantu veteres mutare figurās* (III. 7. 62–63; cf. Verg., *Ecl.* 8. 70). In Ovid she sings spells "learned from Hecate" (*Met.* XIV. 44); and her rival for Picus is Canens, "Singing Girl" (*Met.* XIV. 337 ff.).

³² *Od.* X. 236. If your homeland no longer exists for you, your identity no longer exists, so it is vital that Odysseus "remember" it (X. 472). The danger of forgetting also reminds us that the power of the singer is precisely to remember (the Muses are the daughters of Mnemosyne) and so preserve the meaning of the past and the identity that is rooted there.

³³ Because of sex with a goddess, but more generally because *all* sex threatens impotence with loss of semen: see Anne Giacomelli, "Aphrodite and After," *Phoenix* 34. 1 (1980), 16–19.

considered earlier the passage in Tibullus where Circe submits to Odysseus' *audacia*, a fate she shares with many others. There is a more telling parallel in Horace's *Epistles* (I. 2. 23 ff.) which identifies Ulysses' enemy as only Circe and the Sirens, and which speaks more nearly to the poet's task. Préaux reads the emphasis here as entirely on Circe,³⁴ although the Sirens too (unlike the Cyclops) are wholly appropriate to represent dangerous energy confronted, mastered, and enjoyed. Horace does not give Ulysses a supporting deity, but the Homeric paradigm is implicit. In Préaux' view, Horace here puts in relief "la sauvegarde accordée par Mercure aux sages," a subtle indication of Horace's own devotion to Mercury as god of a certain kind of intelligence vital to the poet.³⁵ What is at stake? It would be too much to expect that the question of creativity which fascinated but perplexed thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, and Longinus should be made articulate in poetry, however discursive. There are times when Horace defines poetry as a soothing art, a *lenimen* (*Odes* I. 32. 15). However, he so often imagines it as a saving force, even a life-saver, that one may legitimately find in it more than consolation. He tells us that in childhood the gods enabled him to sleep safe from "vipers and bears" (*Odes* III. 4. 9–20). These clearly are threats in the imagination, witnesses to an acutely disturbing sensitivity in the child's psyche but one tempered by a powerful capacity to achieve tranquillity. Here is the making of the poet.

As an adult, Horace still talks of protective gods: *di me tuentur* (*Odes* I. 17. 13), but in this same ode it is Faunus who is singled out, the god elsewhere called guardian of *Mercurialium virorum* (*Odes* II. 17. 27–30). Mercury himself assists the poet, saving him at Philippi (*Odes*. II. 7. 13 ff.), while this god's lyre is said to be able to stay swift rivers and calm the *immanis . . . ianitor aulae* (*Odes* III. 11. 14–16). More generally it is the Muses who shield the poet: it is they, now, who protect him from the falling tree and death at Philippi, and who also ensure him safe passage should he journey over the *insanientem Bosphorum* or other wild regions (*Odes* III. 4. 21–36). Such adult "monsters" include autobiographical details, but even these are mythologized to the level of Cerberus, "enemies" rising in the imagination yet at the same time becoming part of the poem's redemptive form and a source of its delight. One of the poet's correlatives of disorder is the wolf, *lupus* (*Odes* I. 22. 9), a word perhaps akin to *lussa*, "madness."³⁶ Critics are divided on whether it is love or song that saves the poet on this occasion,³⁷ but the lover-poet is scarcely a divisible concept in such poems. It is singing of the beloved (*dum meam canto Lalagen*) that

³⁴ Jean Préaux, *Q. Horatius Flaccus: Epistulae, liber primus* (Paris 1968), p. 52.

³⁵ Préaux (above, note 34), *ibid.*

³⁶ Nisbet and Hubbard (above, note 3) compare the lion in Dioscorides (A.P. VI. 220), who is chased off by a pure priest of Cybele with his tambourine (pp. 261 ff.). But the image of the wolf may have a sharper point, if the etymology is sound: see Simon (above, n. 6) who also notes the parallel of "berserk" and "bearskin" (pp. 68; 209, n. 38).

³⁷ On the history of the argument, see Nisbet and Hubbard (above, note 3), pp. 261 ff.

does the trick. This ode is an exemplary poem about the man who is *integer vitae scelerisque purus*. What *ars* aspires to is *integritas*. We might be reminded of the *integri fontes* in which the Muses of Lucretius (I. 927 ff.; IV. 2 ff.) and of Horace (*Odes* I. 26. 6) rejoice. Apart from the allusion here to waters uncharted before by Roman poets,³⁸ there is also the suggestion that the waters of inspiration are a mysterious source of both energy and wholeness.

In the *Epistle* Horace gives advice to a young man embarking on the study of philosophy, reminding him that Ulysses defeated his bogies by application of *virtus* and *sapientia* (17). While the explicit context is philosophy, the philosophical and poetical lives were always intimately associated in Horace's mind;³⁹ each requires that order triumph over the dark forces of disorder, however alluring these might be. In the *Epistle* he describes Circe as *domina meretrix* (25). This is the *topos* of the hetaira as a symbol of what stands aggressively between the philosopher or poet and his goal. Tupet equates Circe's potion here with "déraison,"⁴⁰ to which we would add that Circe herself is a madness not to be avoided but absorbed—the trained colt and hunting dog retain their animal energy (*Ep.* I. 2. 62–67), the tamed Circe her sexual attraction. Horace has the Muses save the mighty Octavian, guaranteeing the boon of peace and so "re-creating" him (*recreatis*, *Odes* III. 4. 40), nourishing him within the Pierian cave before his rebirth as the incarnation of Rome's new, peaceful destiny.⁴¹ The struggle gives way to, redirects its energies into, the heroic, philosophical, and poetical forms of victory.

We do less than justice to Horace and to the tradition if we interpret the poet's multiple enemies as merely the turmoils of life against which poetry serves as a kind of anodyne. All the threatening images are extremely violent, the strange violence of nature and of the bestial; all are given full expression by the poet, and all, not least Circe, are finally transfigured by poetry's ordering power.⁴² They point to a kind of chaotic and awesome energy that Plato called $\mu\alpha\nu\alpha$ Μονσῶν (a paradox we shall take up shortly). But did Horace really believe that such $\mu\alpha\nu\alpha$ lay at the heart of his own craft? "Madness" remains an ill-defined concept, especially in the

³⁸ See Commager (above, note 8), pp. 11, 327.

³⁹ Terms like *virtus*, *pietas*, and *sapere* can carry both moral and aesthetic force in Horace: see Commager (above, note 8), pp. 328–30, 341; also R. W. Johnson, *The Idea of Lyric: Lyric Modes in Ancient and Modern Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1982), pp. 141 ff.

⁴⁰ Ann-Marie Tupet, *La Magie dans la Poésie Latine* (Paris 1976), p. 329.

⁴¹ Commager (above note 8), p. 195.

⁴² See Commager (above, note 8), p. 327, on *Odes* II. 19: "animal energy submits to a principle of order." On the Horatian perception of the dangers of following inspiration (*Odes* III. 4. 5–8), G. Williams claims that it is merely because his subject matter is new and difficult—to treat political matters in verse (*Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* [Oxford 1968], p. 70). Elsewhere Williams attributes to Horace a universal law of life, but does not extend it to his poetics: "brute force, devoid of judgment, produces its own destruction," in *The Third Book of Horace's Odes* (Oxford 1969), p. 50.

context of creativity,⁴³ but it is one of antiquity's favorite terms for poetic inspiration. Horace, however, explicitly rejects the "mad" poet (*vesanus*; *qui furit*) as merely insane, and by the same token incompetent, taking issue with Democritus who would exclude *sanos poetas* from Helicon. And he cites Empedocles as an example of an "inspired" poet who took the concept of his divinity so seriously he leaped into Etna to prove it. Good riddance to him, says Horace (A.P. 296 ff., 464–66). A number of critics have emphasized the role of "natural talent" (*ingenium*) and hard work (*labor*) in Horatian art and believe that the concept of manic inspiration is irrelevant, indeed antithetical, to it.⁴⁴ Others disagree. Brink, for example, has argued that Horace's image of the mad poet is a caricature and that in Horace himself must be "a generous measure of the quality so caricatured." The mad poet's verses are "lethal . . . not only to himself but to the community," which is to say that Horace was acutely aware, for all the ironic distancing of his poetic voice, of the "safety device" of *ars* that restrains the poet from destroying himself.⁴⁵

The truth of the matter eludes us, mostly because the nearness of inspirational madness to pathological madness remains an intuitive rather than proven concept and seems to apply in different degrees to different artists. But ancient and modern terminology points stubbornly to an identification. Even so cool a poet as Horace is at least intellectually aware of it, and in his most lyrical poetry resorts to pregnant imagery to express it. The subject of *μανία* is vast and complex, but is inescapably linked to unusual states of mind. The author of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems* observed: "All [my italics] who have achieved eminence in philosophy, politics, poetry, or the arts are demonstrably μελαγχολικοί" (*Prob.* 953a); he specifies the insanity of such heroes as Heracles and Ajax, and the "atrabilious" disposition of such lesser men as Empedocles, Plato, and Socrates. Nietzsche found the explanation of such widespread μελαγχολία in the particular conditions of Greek culture, especially the fanatical and defensive Greek preoccupation with the ideal of rationality.⁴⁶ But the legendary fates of Orpheus, torn to pieces by Maenads with their discordant song, his lyre overcome (Ovid, *Met.* XI. 3–20), Sappho, Empedocles, and Lucretius also imply an ancient perception of melancholy and self-

⁴³ See Simon (above, note 6), pp.148–51.

⁴⁴ Especially Commager (above, note 8), pp. 24, 27, 45, 49. Ovid, himself a most calculating poet, has Sappho sing that she weeps and burns, then deny that she can fashion a song in this mood! (*Heroid.* XV. 7–10, 13 ff.). Nisbet and Hubbard tend to emphasize the conventionality of Horace's odes and find humor everywhere: e.g., Horace "humorously" calls himself a *vir Mercurialis* (*A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book II* [Oxford 1977], p. 286; cf. 106 ff., 115).

⁴⁵ C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: the 'Ars Poetica'* (Cambridge 1971), pp. 421–29; also *Horace on Poetry: Epistles Book II* (Cambridge 1982), pp. 316, 327, on madness and creativity in the "higher" forms of poetry, for Horace, lyric.

⁴⁶ See Simon's discussion (above, note 6), p. 43.

destructive violence in the artistic personality⁴⁷ (we may compare such modern examples as Strindberg, Virginia Woolf, John Berryman, and Sylvia Plath). If the Muses protect the artist, they do so only as long as he continues to be a ποιητής. The battle must be won time and again, and for some victory is never inevitable. Circe sometimes wins.

Ancient thinkers could scarcely avoid noting the relevance of μανία to a large number of conditions, including inspiration. They found a common link in the notions of "possession," and "disassociation," and it is no accident that Euripides' *Bacchae* is about ecstasy, pathological madness, and art.⁴⁸ Nor that ordering power, Bacchic ecstasy, and disintegration unite in the prototypical figure of Orpheus. Nor that Socrates resorts to Bacchic language when he describes the current of ecstasy that flows from poet to performing rhapsode to audience, emphasizing madness, possession, and disassociation.⁴⁹ An example of transforming power is the μανία Μουσῶν (*Phaedr.* 244b). Plato interprets the divinity of the Muse as her enormous energy rather than her ability to create order—more like the horses than the charioteer. This energy is brought to heel by "craft" (τέχνη) and "self-control" (σωφροσύνη) grounded in true knowledge.⁵⁰ But of course energy and order are images that divide the indivisible, the unfathomable complexity of the creative imagination. The Muse herself can represent the sweeter or wilder side of creativity, its Apollonian form or its manic energy. She is the ambiguous power of every θεός.⁵¹ For Plato she is the μανία to

⁴⁷ See C. Bailey on the legend of Lucretius' death, and his conclusion: there is "nothing in the poem which makes . . . morbid depression (*insania*) impossible" (*Lucretius: De Rerum Natura* [Oxford 1947], p.12). Whether or not the poet took a love-philtre (wittingly or unwittingly) and whether or not he committed suicide, it is hard not to link the legend with the theme and tone of his poetry: cf. Statius' *docti furor arduus Lucreti* (*Silv.* II. 7. 76) and the ambivalence of *furor* as inspiration or madness. Sappho's suicidal leap for love of Phaon at least suggests that only with difficulty did she "heal love with the Muses" (above, note 7).

⁴⁸ See especially R. P. Winnington-Ingram, *Euripides and Dionysus* (Cambridge 1948), p.185; Simon (above note 6), pp.115, 147, 150; C. Segal, *Dionysiac Poetics and Euripides' Bacchae* (Princeton 1982), pp.221–23, and *passim*.

⁴⁹ E.g. μαινόμενος (*Ion* 536d; cf. *Phaedr.* 241a; also Longinus VIII.4); poets compared to Bacchants (*Ion* 536a; Longinus III.2, VIII.1,4); κατεχόμενοι (*Ion*. 533a, 536d); melic poets οὐκ ἔμφρονες ὄντες (*Ion*. 534a; cf. ἔκφρων, 534b; ἐκ σαυτοῦ γίγνη, 535b). Simon (above, note 6) talks about the bard and the blurring of the self's boundaries, with special emphasis on the narrative and tragic poets: "within himself the dramatist must find an Archimedean point somewhere between cold sobriety, controlled ecstasy, and a frenzy bordering on madness" (p. 159; cf. p. 283); he calls the madman a "dramatist manqué" (p. 147).

⁵⁰ Plato's more general psychic opposites are expressed in νοῦν καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀντ' ἔρωτος καὶ μανίας (*Phaedr.* 241a). For σωφρονεῖν as the antithesis of madness cf. Ajax on his return to sanity: ἡμεῖς δὲ πᾶς οὐ γνωσόμεσθα σωφρονεῖν; (*Soph. Ai.* 677).

⁵¹ Ancient uneasiness over the Muses' ambiguity is hinted at in several ways. The blindness of the poet (Demodocus, or the bard of Chios) is an ambivalent sign. The distress of Penelope (*Od.* I. 340–42) and Alcinoos (*Od.* VIII. 538) that the bard's art can cause less pleasure than pain reminds us that the ordering power of art can sometimes depend, delicately, on external circumstance. Tradition made the Sirens, those most dangerous singers, daughters of Melpomene and Achelous. Homer and Ovid represented the Muses as no less ruthlessly jealous

be controlled. For Horace and Theocritus she is the shaping hand that brings form out of formlessness, the mistress of Circe and other symbols of dangerous but necessary unorder.

The singers in Theocritus are shepherds. Theocritus may have "invented the herdsman figure as a self-conscious and witty, half coterie poet and entirely rustic—a magnificent impossibility."⁵² But from Enkidu in *Gilgamesh* to David in the Bible to Paris in Greek mythology, the shepherd has been able to represent a "marginal" figure in imaginative art, a bridge between the wildness of nature and the ordered life of the city. The poet too, a ἐρμηνεύς, spans an awesome distance between what is at first chaotic and threatening and what finally is organized and pleasurable; that is, between "divine" inspiration and the ordering function of the same imagination that shapes the poem into its beautiful form. Is it an accident that David rose from rural shepherd boy to urban musician king? Or that Hesiod, whatever his real chores as farmer, was "pasturing his flock" when the Muses first appeared to him on a lonely mountainside? Callimachus many centuries later preserves that detail, in passages that perhaps urge aspiring poets to model themselves on Hesiod (*Aet.* 2; 112, 4–7). Apollo himself served as herdsman for a while. The pastoral genre, where nature and civilization meet in the figure of the learned herdsman-poet, has roots in that tradition. The "magnificent impossibility" of the Theocritean singing shepherd both reflects the complexity of the mythical imagery and affectionately cocks a snook at it. Similar half-conviction, half-parody might lie behind the herdsman-poet's reference to Circe and the Muses. While Theocritus may have grasped the relation of this image to creativity no more securely than Horace did after him, the appearance of the image in both poets at least attests to the enduring force of the tradition.

That in the *Odyssey* Circe changes only bodies is a measure of the typical Homeric relationship between identity and corporal condition. In the fifth century and beyond, the myth speaks to Circean transformation on many levels, not least the potentially dislocating energies of all intense experiences, out of which we must shape the structures of our response. Artists are more vulnerable since they react with abnormal intensity to such threats, merging the formlessness of each experience with the formlessness where art begins. Paradoxically, however, this very merging inauguates the "difficult" task of bringing to order (ὑπὸ νόμον τάξαι) the energies of the imagination (Longinus XXXIII. 5), the shaping of experience into redemptive beauty. The hero too may find himself blessed by the Muses, and the Theocritean scholiast does not hesitate so to describe Odysseus. At

of their dignity than any other god (*H.* II. 594–600; *Met.* V. 662–76). And Plato's μάνια Μουσῶν is a mixed blessing; on Plato's ambivalence, see W.J. Verdenius, "Plato's doctrine of Artistic Imitation," in *Plato: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Gregory Vlastos (New York 1971), pp. 259–62.

⁵² Griffiths (above, note 4), p. 113.

the same time, the scholiast draws our attention in the encounter between Odysseus and Circe not only to the poetic qualities of the hero but also to the heroic qualities of the poet in his struggle to create art and preserve identity. The artist transcribes life in the imagination and so masters and redeems it: the lyre of the Muses tames the μανία of the Muses.

Such, at least, is the intuitive understanding of creativity that lurks behind the discourse of ancient thinkers and the images of ancient poetry. The scholiast, not unreasonably, found in the Homeric encounter between hero and sorceress a paradigm of the Muses' power. Supported by the Olympian god of magic, later a patron god of poets, Odysseus "beloved of the Muses" overcomes the chthonic goddess of magic, avoiding disintegration and achieving a delightful conclusion. The fortunes of his crew "entirely bereft of Muses" are a disquieting reminder of what happens when the center fails to hold.

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Apollonius' *Argonautica*: Euphemus, a Clod and a Tripod*

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In the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, the Argonauts had all but reached home by their most circuitous return route from Colchis, when *Argo* was driven by a fierce storm towards the African coast, and, after a portage of nine days and nights carrying *Argo* across land, they finally found themselves surrounded by the shoals of the Tritonian lagoon (IV. 1537 ff.). Orpheus suggested that they should take out the tripod which Apollo had given Jason, and offer it as a gift to the gods of the land, who might consequently be induced to help them. At once, the god Triton, son of Poseidon, appeared before them in the disguise of a young man called Eurypylus, a native of Libya. He offered them a clod of his country's earth, which Euphemus gladly received on the Argonauts' behalf. Euphemus explained their plight, and Triton / Eurypylus directed them how to avoid the dangerous shoals and escape the confines of the lagoon. They embarked and rowed the ship towards the sea, as Triton / Eurypylus disappeared beneath the waves, tripod and all. But the Argonauts felt warmth in their hearts, for, at last, one of the gods had come to them, and helped them. Jason immediately sacrificed a sheep on board, and this time Triton appeared in his true divine form, and hauled *Argo* well out to sea.

A few days later, after Medea's triumph over the bronze giant Talos (IV. 1638 ff.)¹ and Apollo's help in guiding the Argonauts through pitch darkness at sea by the light of his golden bow (IV. 1694 ff.),² Euphemus had a dream which he succeeded in remembering (IV. 1731 ff.). In the dream, he was holding to his breast the clod that he had received from Triton, and he was suckling it with milk. The clod suddenly turned into a virgin, and he

* I wish to thank Professor J. M. Dillon of Trinity College, Dublin, for his advice and encouragement during the preparation of this article.

¹ Possibly inspired in Apollonius' mind by the "Colossus of Rhodes" statue.

² Possibly another contemporary allusion by Apollonius, this time to the great Pharos lighthouse.

passionately made love to her. She said she was a daughter of Triton and Libya, and the nurse of Euphemus' children. She told Euphemus to give her a home with Nereus' daughters near Anaphe, and, in time, she would welcome Euphemus' descendants. When Jason heard the details, he remembered a prophecy of Apollo's, and told Euphemus that he should throw the clod into the sea, and from there grew the island of Calliste. Euphemus' descendants (the poet explains) first lived in Lemnos, until they were driven from their homes by the Tyrrhenians.³ They emigrated to Sparta, and, later, from there to Calliste under the leadership of Theras, who named the island Thera after himself.⁴

What factors induced Apollonius to recount this episode, and what method of selectivity did he use to create his version?

Pindar (*Pyth.* 4) also recounts the meeting at the Tritonian lagoon between Triton / Eurypylus and Euphemus, who, on receiving the clod from the former, even overshadows Jason in importance at this particular time. But, in the Pindaric version, the clod is accidentally washed overboard one night at sea, and Medea makes the prophecy at Thera (*Argo*'s next port of call) that Euphemus will lie with foreign women (i.e. the women of Lemnos, named by Pindar at v. 252), and his descendants⁵ will eventually emigrate, via Sparta, to colonize Calliste (Thera). Furthermore, descendants of the colonists at Calliste will in turn settle in Libya and found Cyrene (*Pyth.* 4. 13–69 and 251–62). If, Medea continues, Euphemus had placed the clod safely in the holy cave at Taenarus,⁶ the Euphemidae would have ruled Libya within four generations from then, but, now that the clod was lost, they must wait until the seventeenth generation. Pindar makes no mention of the tripod.

The fullest extant version of the tripod story is to be found in Herodotus (IV. 179). The story concerns *Argo* after she was built beneath Mount Pelion, but before she sailed to Colchis. Jason put on board a hecatomb and a bronze tripod intending to sail round the Peloponnese to Delphi; but sailing round Cape Malea he was driven by a storm off course to Libya. He found himself aground in the shallows of Lake Tritonis. Here the god, Triton, son of Poseidon, came to him and offered help in return for

³ For a discussion of the Tyrsenoi, Etruscans and Tyrrhenians in Lemnos, see J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (London 1980), pp. 85–86 and 272, n. 211. The reader may also refer to Johannes Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin 1932), pp. 143–45. 13: "Die Stele von Lemnos."

⁴ *Scholia Ap. Rh.*, IV. 1750 (C. Wendel, *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera* [repr. Berlin 1958], p. 327).

⁵ According to *Sch. Pind. ad Pyth.* 4. 455b (A. B. Drachmann, *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina II* [Leipzig 1910], p. 161), Euphemus lay with Lamache, who subsequently gave birth to a daughter, Leucophane. These, the scholiast continues, were the ancestors of Aristoteles (Battus), from whom king Arcesilas IV of Cyrene was descended. Pindar had dedicated *Pyth.* 4 (and 5) to Arcesilas.

⁶ Taenarus was Euphemus' home, and he had a wife there, Laonome, sister of Heracles, daughter of Amphitryon and Alcmene; see *Sch. Pind. ad Pyth.* 4. 79b (Drach. II, p. 108).

the tripod. The tripod being duly handed over, Triton declared that the descendant of the Argonauts who acquired the tripod would found thereabouts one hundred Greek cities.

This tale has nothing whatsoever to do with the original Argonautic saga. In the earliest tradition, *Argo* goes straight to the Pontus after the launching. The story belongs to the later seventh century B.C. when the Greeks were colonizing the Libyan coast.⁷ Cretans were concerned in this colonization,⁸ and the tripod tale in Herodotus finds its origin in the *Argonautica* of Epimenides the Cretan. There can be little doubt that the story of the tripod was an innovation of Epimenides⁹ to establish a Cretan connection with the epic Argonauts, both through the Cretan colonization links with Libya, and by his taking *Argo* directly to Libya past Crete.¹⁰

Pindar's ode is dedicated to king Arcesilas IV of Cyrene, and it is in his honor that the lyric poet has related both the king himself and his subjects to their remotest ancestors the Argonauts. Pindar's unique transfer of the Argonauts' visit to Lemnos from the outward journey to the return is a literary device he uses to emphasize the close link between the Argonauts' union with the Lemnian women and the foundation of Cyrene. Pindar must have gleaned his knowledge of Cyrene's foundation-myth from prominent Cyrenaean themselves.¹¹ The first founders of Cyrenaica must have been as eager as the early settlers of the Black Sea region to connect their genealogy with that of the epic Argonauts. This they achieved by linking the mention of Lemnos in the *Iliad*¹² with the history of the Euphemidae and the events in Lacedaemon and Thera. No doubt they also took advantage of Euphemus' inclusion in a catalogue of *Argo*'s crew by Hesiod. Hesiod is the type of cataloguing poet who most probably included a list of the Argonauts in his work. That he did is suggested by the scholiast to Apollonius:

⁷ Boardman, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 ff.

⁸ Cf. the Cyrenaean version of the foundation of Cyrene in Herodotus IV. 154 ff. For Cretan settlers in Cyrene, see Herod. IV. 161. 3.

⁹ This seems a most reasonable assumption when one considers that Herodotus says nothing of *Argo* as continuing her voyage to Delphi without the tripod. This suggests that the holder of the tripod does not require the sanction of Delphi for success in his enterprise. The relevance of this suggestion becomes clear when one remembers that the fragments of Epimenides show vehement hostility towards Delphi's claims. For a discussion of this Epimenidean antagonism with Delphi, see G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* (London 1969), pp. 81–82.

¹⁰ Cf. the Argonauts' visit to Crete (and encounter with Talos) immediately after they have left Libya in Apollonius' poem (IV. 1636–93).

¹¹ We know, for instance, that Pindar had met Arcesilas' brother-in-law Carrhotus at Delphi (*Sch. Pind. ad Pyth. 5. 34* [Drach. II, pp. 175–76]). Carrhotus had asked Pindar to compose two odes in honor of his chariot victory at the Pythian Games. As an Aegid Pindar was related to the royal family of Cyrene and could treat them as equals; see C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964), p. 138. We know, too, that, shortly before his meeting with Carrhotus, Pindar had entertained Damophilus at Thebes (*Pyth. 4. 299*). For further details about Damophilus at Cyrene and Thebes, see Bowra, *op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff.

¹² *Il. VII. 467–71; XXI. 40–41; XXIII. 746–47.*

ούτε "Ομηρος ούτε 'Ησιόδος ούτε Φερεκύδης (3 Fr. 110 J) λέγουσι τὸν "Ιφικλον συμπεπλευκέναι 'Αργοναύταις.¹³

By introducing the Taenarus element in Medea's prophecy at Thera, Pindar cleverly explains why Libya was not colonized earlier by Greeks. Wishing to compose a story in *Pythian* 4 with the emphasis on Thera and on the genealogy of the Euphemidae, he quite naturally selected Euphemus himself as the link he required.¹⁴ Euphemus, he knew, was a *bona fide* member of the original crew of *Argo*. Pindar had a Hesiodic catalogue of the crew before him, as indeed, I believe, did Apollonius.

We also know that Hesiod mentioned the parentage of Euphemus, saying that he was the son of Poseidon and of Mekionike:

ἢ οὕη 'Υριηι πυκινόφρων Μηκιονίκη,
ἢ τέκεν Εῦφημον γαιηόχῳ 'Εννοστιγαίῳ . . .

This Eoeē of Mekionike appeared in the *Great Eoeae*.¹⁵ A scholiast's report that Hesiod brought the Argonauts to Libya¹⁶ can most likely be ascribed to the Mekionike-Eoeē. The Libyan episode must have been a Cyrenaean addition to the Argonautic legend. For why should Hesiod originally have concerned himself about Libya in an Argonautic context at all? We know that Eugammon, a sixth-century Cyrenaean epic poet, said that Odysseus and Penelope had a son Arcesilas.¹⁷ This was an obvious attempt to claim a Cyrenaean role in the heroic cycle. It is probable that the Libyan episode was invented by a poet of the same school.¹⁸ It would seem likely that Pindar used the Mekionike-Eoeē, which had accepted the Cyrenaean mythology, as a vital source for *Pythian* 4; and here too Pindar found the clod story.

That the clod story is not a Pindaric innovation can be borne out by the fact that Eumelus of Corinth appeared to use a similar scenario when telling his version of the Corinthian foundation-myth. It seems that, according to Eumelus, the mythical founder of the city Aletes (*i.e.* "the Wanderer," signifying Corinth's foundation by invaders) first consulted the oracle at Dodona and then went ahead with Zeus' blessing. The proverb δέχεται καὶ βῶλον 'Αλήτης, scanning as the last part of a hexameter, is definitely

¹³ *Sch. Ap. Rh.* I.45–47a, p. 10 Wendel = R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford 1967), fr. 63, p. 40.

¹⁴ The scholia debate (*Sch. Pind. ad Pyth.* 4.306, [Drach. II, pp. 138–39], and 455 d, e, [II, p. 161]) why Euphemus and not another member of the crew—Periclymenus, for example, the other son of Poseidon mentioned in *Pyth.* 4. 175—received the clod. The simple answer is that Pindar must select Euphemus for the sake of Arcesilas his descendant.

¹⁵ Fr. 253, p. 124 Merkelbach-West = *Sch. Pind. ad Pyth.* 4. 36c (Drach. II, p. 102). But see also fr. 241 note (p. 118 M-W).

¹⁶ Fr. 241, p. 118 M-W = *Sch. Ap. Rh.* IV. 259, pp. 273–74 Wendel = fr. 65, p. 35 in B. Wyss, *Antimachi Colophonii Reliquiae* (repr. Berlin 1974).

¹⁷ See Huxley, *op. cit.* (above, note 9), pp. 168–71.

¹⁸ Cf. M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985), pp. 86–87.

associated with this story, and is most likely a fragment of Eumelus.¹⁹ Possibly, then, Eumelus also found inspiration for his clod story in the Mekionike-Eoeē.

Interestingly, Pindar retains the oracular element by telling the clod part of his story through Medea's prophecy at Thera. Apollonius also retains this particular element when he makes Jason recall a prophecy of Apollo's and, in the light of this, instruct Euphemus as to what he should do with the clod. The reasons for this Apollonian variation will be discussed below. But the Aletes story does suggest that the telling of the clod story in the form of a prophecy was not entirely Pindar's own invention, as M. L. West has recently claimed.²⁰

Some scholars²¹ have argued that Pindar could not have used the Mekionike-Eoeē, since the lyric poet says Euphemus is the son of Poseidon and *Europa* (*Pythian* 4. 45). But this does not necessarily preclude the Mekionike-Eoeē from having been Pindar's source. Despite his regular adherence to his Hesiodic source, Pindar was not averse to departing from the original in the occasional detail where it suited his context. R.W.B. Burton demonstrates quite clearly how Pindar in his third *Pythian*, telling the story of Coronis, is at variance with Hesiod for his own artistic purposes.²²

Why, then, the genealogical change in *Pythian* 4? Perhaps a clue can be found in the scholiast's remarks on Pindar's reason for calling Thera "holy" at lines 6–7:

ιερὰν νᾶσον τὴν Θήραν οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὄνομάζει, ἀλλ' ὅτι
Κάδμος κατὰ ζήτησιν Εύρώπης τῆς ἀδελφῆς στελλόμενος
προσορμισθεὶς τῇ νήσῳ ἀνέκτισε Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς
ιερὸν αὐτόθι, ως ιστορεῖ Θεόφραστος (Θεόχρηστος?).²³

Here we find a connection between Poseidon, Europa and Thera, the colony of the Euphemidae. As in *Pythian* 3, Pindar surely has changed a detail of

¹⁹ Cf. J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth* (Oxford 1984), p. 38.

²⁰ West, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–87. West is right, however, in remarking that a similar technique of presenting the story in the form of a prophecy appears in *Pyth.* 9. But the scholiast on the ninth *Pythian* states ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡοίας Ἡσιόδου τὴν ιστορίαν ἔλαβεν ὁ Πίνδαρος (*Sch.Pind. ad Pyth.* 9. 6a [Drach. II, p. 221] = fr. 215, p. 109, M-W).

²¹ Cf. C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldenage* 3, 1, p. 859.

²² R.W.B. Burton (*Pindar's Pythian Odes—Essays in Interpretation* [Oxford 1962], pp. 83–84) compares details of *Pyth.* 3 with a fragment of the *Eoeae* (fr. 123 Rzach = fr. 60, p. 39 M-W = *Sch. Pind. ad Pyth.* 3. 52b and 3. 14 [Drach. II, pp. 70–71, and 65]), and shows three differences: (i) the wedding-feast for Ischys and Coronis is a public affair in Hesiod, but Coronis, according to Pindar, does not wait for such festivities, thus emphasizing her sinful passion; (ii) Ischys is a Thessalian like Coronis in Hesiod, but, in Pindar, he is a stranger from Arcadia, a distant land, thus making her offense even worse; (iii) in Hesiod, a raven tells Apollo the news, whereas, in Pindar, Apollo simply knows what she has done, Pindar thus "advertising the omniscience and infallibility of the Delphic god."

²³ *Sch. Pind. ad Pyth.* 4.10f (Drach. II, p. 98).

his Hesiodic source, this time to bind more closely together the links between the Euphemidae and their descendants at Cyrene, the Battiad.

Apollonius follows Pindar in naming Euphemus' parents as Poseidon and Europa (I. 179–81) probably for much the same reason as Pindar. Apollonius' original reason for including the Libyan episode must have been because of Euphemus' links with the African continent. This particular Argonaut had a special place in the hearts of the Alexandrians, and his omission from the piece would not have passed muster with Apollonius' audience.²⁴

However, there was no need for Apollonius to place emphasis on Cyrene itself. So, unlike Pindar, Apollonius left the Lemnos visit in its traditional position on the outward journey, and ignored the Taenarus element completely.

An important Apollonian variation from the Pindaric version appears in the poets' respective telling of the clod part of the story through a prophecy. Pindar did it through Medea's prophetic words at Thera, while Apollonius makes Jason the instrument of prophecy. This is because Apollonius is using the Libyan episode to make a very different point. The Apollonian scenario is one of reconciliation between the gods and the Argonauts. It is the end of their punitive and circuitous journey in all senses. Jason and his entire crew now know and understand their mistakes, and from the minute they set up the tripod in dedication to the gods of the land the reconciliation process begins. This is the first time since the murder of Apsyrtus that the Argonauts have treated the gods with due respect and reverence, or *themis*. When Triton appears disguised as Eurypylus, this is also the first time since the sacrilegious slaughter that one of the gods comes to the Argonauts' aid.

The tripod tale of the Cretan Epimenides was used by Apollonius only in its bare essentials, that is, the meeting at Lake Tritonis between the Argonauts and Triton, son of Poseidon, who received from them a tripod. The meeting, of course, was later recorded in the Pindaric version, but the idea of the tripod itself was one which Apollonius could, and did, use cleverly to his own advantage. It would serve as a literary device to introduce his reconciliation scenario. The god could hardly have helped the Argonauts unless they had repented in the first place. The Argonauts, by offering the tripod to the god as a mark of repentance, allowed him in turn to give them the clod as a sign of forgiveness. It will be noted that in the Epimenidean version Triton offered Jason help, if he would give him the tripod—a subtle but very significant difference. Triton's gift of the clod in return for the tripod, which had been duly offered and dedicated to him, forms

²⁴ Cf. J. F. Carspecken, "Apollonius Rhodius and the Homeric Epic," *Yale Classical Studies* 13 (1952), 35–143. Carspecken suggests (46–47) that Euphemus holds an "intentionally emphatic" position in the Apollonian catalogue of heroes because of his popularity at Alexandria.

an exchange symbolic of the interrelationship which had to exist between gods and men.

Moreover, we find a further demonstration by Apollonius of this same striking symbolism in his presentation of what I will call the Eurypylus / Triton equation. Whereas, in Pindar, the god only appears in the guise of Eurypylus, in the Apollonian version he afterwards emerges in his own true form. Apollonius is the first to portray this metamorphosis. It is only when the Argonauts see him walk into the water carrying the tripod, and totally disappear beneath the waves, tripod and all, that they realize they at last have been helped by a god. In immediate response, Jason sacrifices a sheep over the stern, and prays; whereupon the god Triton emerges from the depths in all his glory, an awe-inspiring sight, vividly described by Apollonius (IV. 1602 ff.). Once clear of the lagoon the Argonauts spent that day on shore, and built altars to Poseidon and Triton. By presenting his audience with Triton, firstly disguised as the mortal Eurypylus, and then appearing as his immortal self, Apollonius is showing clearly the close interrelationship which inevitably exists between man and the gods, something which Jason and his Argonauts have now learned to respect and to revere.

Whether Pindar was the first to equate Eurypylus (a very early king of the Cyrenaic land)²⁵ with the god Triton is a moot point. The scholiast says that he was.²⁶ But it is more likely that this obvious conflation of two separate tales appeared first in the Mekionike-Eoee. Apollonius, of course, knew the truth of the matter. However, for us, the important thing to notice is that Apollonius decided not just to maintain the Eurypylus / Triton equation but to extend the notion by the metamorphosis described above.

By reintroducing the clod story after the Talos and Apollo episodes, Apollonius makes certain that the Libyan visit with its message of reconciliation acquires great emphasis, particularly as it is also the final episode in the poem.

Pindar's invention of the clod as suddenly being washed overboard by a freak wave was irrelevant to Apollonius' purpose. So, Apollonius provided an invention of his own, namely Euphemus' dream. The dream motif suited the context of the man / god interrelationship which the poet was trying to portray. The subsequent prophecy by Jason, rather than Medea, shows Jason's return to *themis* and final reconciliation with the gods before the Argonauts arrive home.

The Libyan episode of the Argonautic saga, then, has origins and sources which are by now rather obscure to us, but the evidence we do have is more than sufficient to show us how variable and adaptable Apollonius

²⁵ See *Sch. Ap. Rh.* IV. 1561 c, p. 322 Wendel = *Sch. Pind. ad Pyth.* 4. 57 (Drach. II, p. 105). Also, L. Malten, *Kyrene* (Berlin 1911), pp. 105, 114 ff., 131.

²⁶ *Sch. Pind. ad Pyth.* 4. 37 (Drach. II, pp. 102-03).

Rhodius was in his creative selectivity, and how he integrated this method of creative selectivity with the results of his own innovative powers.

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*Heteros tis eimi: On the Language of Menander's Young Lovers**

FREDERICK E. BRENK, S.J.

Confronted with Menander's virtuosity, the flowery exuberance of Plutarch knew no bounds (*Comp. Arist. et Men.* 854A–B):¹

ὅ δὲ Μένανδρος μετὰ χαρίτων μάλισθ' ἔαυτὸν αὐτάρκη παρέσχηκεν, ἐν θεάτροις ἐν διατριβαῖς ἐν συμποσίοις, ἀνάγνωσμα καὶ μάθημα καὶ ἀγώνισμα κοινότατον ὃν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐνήνοχε καλῶν παρέχων τὴν ποίησιν, δεικνὺς ὅ τι δῆ καὶ ὅποιον ἦν ἄρα δεξιότης λόγου, ἐπιών ἀπανταχόσε μετὰ πειθοῦς ἀφύκτου καὶ χειρούμενος ἄπασαν ἀκοὴν καὶ διάνοιαν Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς.

Now Menander, along with the grace of his verses, has above all offered himself as totally sufficient, in theatres, in discussions, in symposia, having provided a poetry which is the most universal reading, instruction and competitive drama of all the beautiful things Greece has produced—demonstrating what skill with language really is, convincing in all he touches, and delicately controlling every sound and shade of meaning in the Greek language.

It is consistent with this that, within the apparently stereotyped and stylized portrayal of young men in the fragments, no more than faintly reflected in the languid or boisterous adaptations of Terence and Plautus, there are individuating touches in character drawing that reveal the poet's

* The original inspiration for this article came from a National Endowment for the Humanities Seminar in Menander and Roman Comedy conducted by Professor William S. Anderson of the University of California at Berkeley. Professor F. H. Sandbach of Trinity College, Cambridge, graciously read earlier drafts of the present text. I must of course bear responsibility for any errors remaining. Thanks are due as well to anonymous reviewers, and in particular to the skillful and meticulous editing of Professor Newman. The Greek in the title was stolen from Chaireas of the *Dyskolos* (65), and given a meaning that is totally unwarranted.

¹ Plutarch, *Moralia* V. 2. 2, ed. B. Häslер (Leipzig 1978), p. 4. Häslér compares the wording of Thuc. II. 41. 1, where Pericles in the Funeral Oration is praising the agile versatility of the Athenian. Evidently Plutarch found this Periclean ideal realized in Menander's style.

creative genius. In this paper, only the most prominent survivors will be considered.²

I. Sostratos and Gorgias in the *Dyskolos*

There is a good deal of contrast in the language of the two. Handley, Sandbach and others have observed the flexibility of Sostratos' urbane speech and the stilted rigidity of attitude and expression in Gorgias.³ Gorgias does not exactly speak in maxims, but his thought is sententious and his mind operates in curious antitheses (271–73, 280–83):

εἶναι νομίζω πάσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγώ
τοῖς τ' εὐτυχοῦσιν τοῖς τε πράττουσιν κακῶς
πέρας τι τούτου καὶ μεταλλαγήν τινα,
...
τοῖς δ' ἐνδεῶς πράττουσιν, ἂν μηδὲν κακὸν
ποιῶσιν ἀποροῦντες, φέρωσι δ' εὐγενῶς
τὸν δαίμον', εἰς πίστιν ποτ' ἐλθόντας χρόνωι, . . .

I, indeed, for all men, believe there to be / both for the prosperous and those faring ill / a limit to this and some turn-around, . . .

For those faring less well, if nothing evil / they do, despite being without means, and bear nobly / their *daimon*, in time establishing credit. . . .⁴

In Gorgias' speech here, Sandbach notes a slightly comic formality and pomposity underscored by the strictly regular rhythm of much of the verse and the elaborate period of thirteen lines, ending, however, in anacoluthon.⁵

² At a very late stage it was possible to consult the invaluable dissertation of J. S. Feneron, *Some Elements of Menander's Style* (Stanford 1976), directed by T. B. L. Webster (hereafter referred to in these notes as *Elements*). K. J. Dover, "Some Abnormal Types of Word-Order in Attic Comedy," *Classical Quarterly* 35 (1985), 324–43, attempts in a highly technical treatment to distinguish comedy from control texts of tragedy, comedy and inscriptions, and is not directly concerned with distinctions between individual speakers.

³ W. G. Arnott, "The Confrontation of Sostratos and Gorgias," *Phoenix* 18 (1964), 110–23, sees the character portrayal of the *Dyskolos* as fairly sophisticated, but without the complexity and sympathy of the later plays (111); see also "Menander Qui Vitae Ostendit Vitam . . .," *Greece & Rome* 15 (1968), 1–17. S. M. Goldberg, *The Making of Menander's Comedy* (Berkeley 1980; hereafter = *Making*), feels (p. 90) that the play is unable to create the type of dramatic tension found in the later plays, but that it is incipient.

⁴ See Arnott, *Greece & Rome* (above, note 3), 14–15. E. W. Handley, *The Dyskolos of Menander* (London 1965), p. 184, takes Gorgias' language as financial. Alain Blanchard, *Essai sur la Composition des Comédies de Méandre* (Paris 1983), p. 81, note 54, thinks the argument here is logical, but clumsily put (against Sandbach in A. W. Gomme, F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* [Oxford 1973], p. 179). Arnott comments on Gorgias' monstrous period that collapses into clumsy anacolutha: "Moral Values in Menander," *Philologus* 125 (1981), 215–27. —In order to clarify the Greek styles of the young men, the translations have been made very literal in certain respects, with consequent loss to familiar English.

⁵ Arnott's article, *Phoenix* (above, note 3), discusses the language of the two young men. See also F. H. Sandbach, "Menander's Manipulation of Language for Dramatic Purposes," in *Méandre: Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt sur l'Antiquité Classique* 16 (Vandoeuvres-Genève

There are in fact seven antitheses between lines 271 and 287. The μέν of 274 is widely separated from the δέ of 280.⁶ This rather subtle construction of Gorgias' speech might at first sight appear similar to Sostratos' persuasion of his own father to accept Gorgias as his son-in-law (797–812).⁷ But the formal, apodeictic language betrays rigidity of mind and a simplistic understanding of complicated problems suitable both to a rustic and to a young man.⁸ Commentators in antiquity already noticed that Menander frequently rounds off a narrative passage with a gnome.⁹ This is not the case with those of Gorgias. The incongruity between form and content, sentiment and speaker, is again one of the essential marks of Menander's refined humor.

There is another curious opposition between language and thought. Though the substance of Gorgias' speech is highly moralistic and in a sense theological—the relation of temporal prosperity to ethical conduct—he continually uses the language of τύχη: τοῖς τ' εὐτυχοῦσιν, τῷ μὲν εὐτυχοῦντι, τὴν τύχην, τὸν δαίμον', τοῦ διεντυχεῖν. In the early Hellenistic period, however, τύχη generally expresses blind chance without regard to the gods or moral activity.¹⁰

In contrast with the rigidity of Gorgias' speech, the flexibility of Sostratos' has often been remarked. Both use sententious or proverbial language, but for different purposes. At 797–812 Sostratos, who has

1970) (hereafter = *FH*), pp. 111–37; A. G. Katsouris, *Linguistic and Stylistic Characterization. Tragedy and Menander* (Ioannina 1975), pp. 114–19; and Goldberg, *Making*, p. 79.

⁶ Sandbach notes (*FH*, p. 117), that the μῆτε . . . μῆτε used by Gorgias at 284–86 appears only 6 times in the poet. *Sikyonios* 176 is in a messenger speech modeled on Euripides, *Orestes* 866–956, and thus represents formal rather than informal style. Feneron (*Elements* [above, note 2], p. 99) agrees with Sandbach in finding Gorgias one of the most consistent speakers in his fondness for antithesis, and observes a lack of emotional color in his use of *plope*, as defined in note 35 below.

⁷ See Sandbach, *FH*, pp. 118–99. Feneron, *Elements*, p. 10, finds only two examples of real antistrophe in Menander, both emphasizing a positive / negative antithesis: *Dyskolos* 833–34, where the verses end in ἄξιον, and 338–39, where the verse ends in ἔχε and the sentence in ἔξεις.

⁸ Sandbach (*FH*, p. 118) believes Gorgias only uses the trite oaths νὴ Δία and μὰ Δία. He attributes Πόσειδον at 777 to Sostratos. On this matter, see now K. J. Dover (above, note 2), 328–32, who notes that oaths are not very usual in tragedy; and the very extensive treatment in Feneron, *Elements*, pp. 65–81, and 141–47, especially p. 67. He notes that Sostratos uses 22 oaths, while Gorgias and Knemon have only 8 each. M. H. de Kat Eliassen, "The Oaths in Menander's *Samia*," *Symbolae Osloenses* 50 (1975), 56–60, argues that, with the exception of νὴ Δία, oaths are frequently used for humorous effect, e.g. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω in *Samia* 309, 455, 596, when the speaker is lying (56). On swearing by Adrasteia (*Perik.* 304; *Samia* 503), see Sandbach, *Commentary*, pp. 485, 599.

⁹ N. Holzberg, *Menander. Untersuchungen zur Dramatischen Technik* (Nürnberg 1974), p. 82.

¹⁰ Feneron (*Elements*, p. 35) notes this paronomasia as stylistically appropriate to Gorgias and Habrotonon (*Epitrepones*), that both are applied etymologically and emphasize only the words in question, but that Habrotonon's is less formal, more intelligent and artificial: . . . τρόφιμος / τρεφόμενον . . . ("master / . . . reared," 468–69).

decided to marry Knemon's daughter, realizes the need to secure acceptance for her relatives. His speech to his father is relentlessly tailored to this end. His special pleading that friends are worth more than money, designed to win an argument, ends (811–12) with the proverbial

πολλῶι δὲ κρείττον ἔστιν ἐμφανῆς φίλος
ἢ πλοῦτος ἀφανῆς, ὃν σὺ κατορύξας ἔχεις.

Better by far is a friend in sight / than wealth unseen, which you keep buried.¹¹

The mutability of prosperity is a theme identical to that of Gorgias in his speech, but the language Sostratos employs corresponds to the pragmatic, non-theological world of business in which his father operates. Prosperity is dependent on *τύχη*, the vagaries of luck. There is always the possibility that one may slip, or as the Greek puts it “stumble.” Also characteristic of Sostratos’ speech, in opposition to the third-person moralizing of Gorgias, is the use of the second person, occurring 18 times in the short passage and even concluding the final adage.¹²

II. Moschion in the *Samia*

The perfection of the role of adopted son may be seen in the *Samia*. Menander’s gift for variation is also evident. We found in the *Dyskolos*, not an adopted son, but something close, a stepson who lived independently of his stepfather. In the *Adelphoi* an adopted boy is raised by his uncle. In this play, Moschion’s mysterious origins focus our attention on his overriding concerns—adoption and his introduction into a life of luxury.

The dramatic technique of the *Samia* is utterly different from that of the *Dyskolos*. In contrast to the speeches of Sostratos in the earlier play, the speeches of Moschion in the *Samia* are filled with introspection and elegance. There are daydreams, and speeches rehearsed but never delivered. The expository value of the speeches and dialogue is clearly subordinated to the expression of complex feelings and the subtle interchange of minds. Indirection, omission, and verbal hints become more important than explicit statements. Of about 900 lines in the *Samia*, apparently 370 were given to

¹¹ The distinction for tax purposes in Athenian law between “visible” and “invisible” property makes Sostratos’ adage more pointed. See the note by Amott, *Menander I* (Cambridge, Mass. 1979), p. 319.

¹² Feneron (*Elements*, p. 100) considers the “absurd” number of oaths used by Sostratos as designed to represent unrestrained emotionalism. However, in general, he finds no prominent stylistic features, but rather variety, informal structure and minor qualifying parentheses. He cites E. W. Handley (above, note 4, p. 248, ad vv. 683 seqq.), and Sandbach, *FH* (above, note 5), p. 137, to contrast Sostratos with Gorgias (p. 101).

monologue.¹³ Sandbach sees the monologue as composed with assured mastery, an indication of technical maturity. He particularly points to Menander's habit of letting the speaker reveal more about himself than intended.¹⁴ The characters not only have greater depth, but are genuinely more humorous.

Menander dispensed with a prologue, and opened instead with a monologue, perhaps for the sake of greater realism, but also with the aim of immediately bringing the central character on the stage and directing the audience's attention to the problems as the young hero sees them. Logically, the monologue should contain the information necessary for the understanding of the play: Moschion's adoption, his unusual relationship with his father, caused by the introduction of the Samian *hetaira* into the home, the rape of a neighbor's daughter by Moschion, the birth of a child, or removal of a child by Chrysis—assuming her parturition (a debate among scholars)—and the substitution or introduction of Moschion's child.¹⁵

Menander has handled this, however, in a highly subjective way. The speech, while conveying the essential facts, takes us fully into the young man's mentality, as explicit and implicit details, omissions and repetitions lay bare his soul. First, the whole exposition is set in terms of Moschion's fall from grace (*ἡμάρτηκα γάρ*, 3), and his partial attempt to make matters right.¹⁶ Beginning with his relationship to his father, he passes over his adoption lightly.¹⁷ Instead, he stresses the luxury of his upbringing, and the

¹³ D. M. Bain, *Menander. Samia* (Warminster 1983), p. xxi. J. C. B. Lowe, "Notes on Menander," *Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin* 20 (1973), 94–95, regards the *Samia* as slightly longer than the *Aspis*.

¹⁴ *Commentary*, pp. 542–43. On Moschion, Feneron, *Elements*, pp. 117–19.

¹⁵ The meaning of line 56 is uncertain. Sandbach prints ἔτικτεν, but Austin and Arnott prefer ἔτεκεν. This engenders a dispute among scholars over Chrysis. Sandbach (*Commentary*, p. 555) believed that the child died, but others (C. Dedoussi, T. B. L. Webster, K. Gaiser) denied its existence: see K. Gaiser, "Die 'Akedeia' Menanders," *Grazer Beiträge* 5 (1976), 112 and note 33. Sandbach has returned to a defense of his position recently: "Two Notes on Menander (*Epitrepones* and *Samia*)," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 11 (1986), 158–60. He would now reconstruct lines 54–56 as:

τὸ πλαιδίον γενόμενον εἰληφ' οὐ πάλαι—
ἀπὸ ταύτομάτου δὲ συμβέθηκε καὶ μάλα
εἰς καιρόν—ἡ Χρυσίς· καλοῦμεν τοῦτο γάρ

with εἰληφ' as first, not third person (Gaiser). He argues convincingly that Chrysis and Plangon must be suckling the child, that Moschion had no intention of later claiming the child as his and Plangon's, and that Chrysis was probably using the child as leverage for support of herself by Demeas.

¹⁶ I. Gallo, "MENAND. SAM. 1 ss.S.," *Museum Criticum* 18 (1983), 199–201, would improve Sandbach's text of *Samia* 1–3 to the following:

] περ[
..... τί λυπήσαι με δεῖ [
..... ὀδυνηρόν ἔστιν. ἡμάρτηκα γάρ.

¹⁷ Line 10 poses several problems: see Sandbach, OCT and *Commentary*, p. 546. Following Kasser, Sandbach now believes that about 11 lines are missing at the beginning of the play, in which Moschion might have spoken of his adoption. E. Keuls, "The Samia of

impression he made upon society in an extravagant display of wealth (13–15):

. . . τῶι χορηγεῖν διέφερον
καὶ τῇ] φιλοτιμίᾳ· κύνας παρέτρεφέ μοι,
ἴππο]υς· ἐφυλάρχησα λαμπρῶς. . .

. . . as *choregos* I excelled / and in generosity. He raised dogs for me, / [horse]s. I was a splendid *phylarchos*. . .¹⁸

This past glory contrasts with his present state of shame. His relationship with his father is not revealed as one of mutual love, but (in Sandbach's reconstruction) one in which the father is viewed as his "benefactor" (*εὐεργέ]τει γὰρ ταῦτά μ' οὐ φρονοῦντά πω*, 9), to whom appropriate external signs of thanks have been given.¹⁹ Both shallowness of character and some redeeming features are displayed, but in the light of the boy's own self-justification and value-system.

In the second part of his monologue, Moschion turns to the relationship of Demeas and the *hetaira*. This must have been a startling new development for him, both disrupting the claim he had on his adoptive father's affection and introducing temptation into his own life, if not threatening the relationship between father and son completely.²⁰ Menander exquisitely presents this in the words of the youth. He does not speak of Demeas' love for Chrysis, but rather of sexual desire, excused as something human:

Σαμίας ἔταιρας εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν τινὰ
ἔλθειν ἐκείνον, πρᾶγμ' ἵσως ἀνθρώπινον.

Into some passion for the Samian *hetaira* / that one came, something perhaps human.

Concentrating on Demeas' real or imagined shame (*ἔκρυπτε τοῦτ', ήισχύνετ'*, 23), and on his concealment of the matter, Moschion conveys

Menander. An Interpretation of its Plot and Theme," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 10 (1973), 1–20, stresses the adoption motif.

¹⁸ The position of *phylarchos* apparently involved more leading of parades than military action: see Sandbach, *Commentary*, p. 546; Blanchard (above, note 4), p. 128, note 16; Bain, *Menander, Samia*, p. 113. The *ephebeia* is discussed by S. Humphreys, "Lycurgus of Butadae: An Athenian Aristocrat," in J. W. Eadie, J. Ober, eds. *The Craft of the Ancient Historian. Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr* (Lanham, Maryland / London 1985), pp. 206–09.

¹⁹ The importance of the term *κόσμιος* applied to Moschion is examined by H. J. Mette, "Moschion. ὁ κόσμιος," *Hermes* 97 (1969), 432–39.

²⁰ On the need for visible signs of understanding, see H. D. Blume, *Menanders "Samia"* (Darmstadt 1974), p. 13; on the paratragic Amyntor / Phoinix theme, P. Rau, *Paratragödie (Zetemata)* 45 (Munich 1964), p. 195); on the brilliant subjectivity of the monologue, N. Holzberg, *Menander* (above, note 9), p. 33. Goldberg (*Making*, pp. 94–95) analyzes Moschion as egoistical, cowardly and foolish, unable to see the implications of his actions or to take responsibility for them. The conflict between father and son as a theme is discussed by R. L. Hunter, *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome* (Cambridge 1985), pp. 103–05.

his own reasoning at the time, that unless his father "got control of her" (ἢν μὴ γένηται τῆς ἑταίρας ἐγκρατής, 25) Demeas might suffer from the rivalry of younger men for her affection.

In the final section of the monologue, Moschion explains the rape with the greatest delicacy. We would expect a description of the girl and of his admiration for her beauty (as we find with Sostratos in the *Dyskolos*), then acknowledgment of the force of passion and a mention of the regretted act of violence, followed by the embarrassment caused by the child, the promise to wed the girl, and the introduction of the baby into Chrysis' house. In fact, the explanation, after a lacuna of 22 lines, is more complex. Menander sets up a relationship between the mother of the girl (Plangon) and the Samian, perhaps as an explanation of Chrysis' later willingness to assist in the situation. There follows mention of the Adonis festival, which offered occasion for the rape. Moschion suggests that, but for the noise caused by the women, he would have slept on innocently, and never have committed the shameful act. When he comes to the essentials, he moves from admission of his own shame, to the pregnancy (47–49). The sequence is "I am ashamed" / "she got pregnant"—as though he were unwilling to mention the preceding biological process, then returned to it but only as if to a necessary afterthought (49–50):

. . . τοῦτο γὰρ φράσας λέγω
καὶ τὴν πρὸ τούτου πρᾶξιν, . . .

. . . For by noting this, I mention / as well the deed before that, . . .

Self-revelation is thus clothed in an almost conscious attempt at self-justification.²¹ The highly impressionistic and subjective quality of this dramatic narrative is in accordance with some of the best Hellenistic narrative style, but it also admirably suits the character portrayed, with its good intentions, but also instability and tendency towards rationalization after the fact.²²

Moschion's other speeches reveal the gulf between the monologues and dialogues of the *Dyskolos* and those of the *Samia*. His contemplated suicide at 86–95 has to be seen in the light of his rehearsal of speeches delivered only to the empty air:

βο]ύλομαι
λά]βοις
γ]ὰρ ἀθλιώτερον

²¹ S. Ireland notes comic inversion in the prologue: "Menander and the Comedy of Disappointment," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 8 (1983), 45–47; cf. E. Keuls (above, note 17), 5.

²² The problems with text and meaning here are discussed by Sandbach, *Commentary*, pp. 545–46, and de Kat Eliassen (above, note 8), 61–65. A. G. Katsouris, *Linguistic and Stylistic Characterization. Tragedy and Menander* (above, note 5), p. 105, notes the aristocratic vocabulary. Lowe (above, note 13) would prefer ὅτιον to οἷς at v. 48, a suggestion made by Post and supported somewhat by Terence, *Andria* 638 and Plautus, *Epidicus* 166–68.

Ἴπάντων· οὐκ ἀπάγξομαι ταχύ;
ῥ]ήτωρ μόνος γὰρ φιλόφρονος.
]ότερός εἰμ' ἐν γε τοῖς νυνὶ λόγοις.

ἀ]πελθὼν εἰς ἔρημίαν τινὰ
γυμν]άζομ' οὐ γὰρ μέτριος ἀγών ἔστι μοι.

... I wish . . .
... you might take . . .

... for most wretched . . .

... of all. Should I not hang myself on the spot?
... a speaker alone and of one kindly disposed.
more <miserable?> am I in the present discourses.

... going off into some wilderness . . .
I intend to [train]. For no small contest lies before me.

When Demeas (135–36) complains about the bastard son brought into the house, our knowledge of Moschion's feelings of insecurity over his origins and status in the family lends intelligibility and humor to his otherwise high-minded and moral statement, worthy of a philosopher, that character, not birth, makes one a bastard (139–42).²³ Moschion's statements about birth are, of course, special pleading, triggered by the same defense mechanism that made him reticent about the events leading up to the girl's pregnancy.²⁴ His elegant diction contributes even more to the impression that the medium is the Menandrian message.

Menander continually demands inference from the audience listening to Moschion's speeches. An example is the humorous monologue in Act V (616–40), where Moschion toys with the idea of running off somewhere as a mercenary in order to punish his father. In its elaborate diction reminiscent of tragedy, this monologue recalls the opening soliloquy. The purpose again is not primarily to give factual information to the audience, but to reveal the character of the youth. It takes Moschion some time to master his rhetorical self. In the meantime, he indulges in a series of meditative starts and stops, notional possibilities opening and closing, punctuated by words denoting mental states (*ὑπέλαβον*, *ἔννους γίνομαι*, *λαμβάνω λογισμόν*, *ἔξέστηκα νῦν τελέως ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ παρώξυμμαι σφόδρα*) and guilt (*ἡμαρτηκέναι*) (616–29):

²³ Moschion could not have been legally adopted at Athens since he was a foundling of unknown birth: see Sandbach, *Commentary*, p. 473; A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens. The Family and Property I* (Oxford 1968), pp. 87–89; D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (London 1978), pp. 99–108. Sandbach doubts that the situation was any different at Corinth. MacDowell notes that the adoption was not really for the benefit of the son but for the parent—care in old age and continuance of the *oikos* after death (pp. 100–01).

²⁴ See W. G. Arnott, "Moral Values in Menander," *Philologus* 125 (1981), 215–27, who seems however not to notice the bias in these lines. Sandbach (*FH*, p. 117) observes that the construction here, built around *μὲν . . . δέ*, is paralleled in Gorgias' lines at *Dyskolos* 170–87. See also Sandbach, *Commentary*, p. 559.

έγώ τότε μὲν ἡς εἶχον αἰτίας μάτην
 ἐλεύθερος γενόμενος ἡγάπησα καὶ
 τοῦθ' ἵκανὸν εὐτύχημ' ἐμαυτῷ γεγονέναι
 ὑπέλαβον· ὡς δὲ μᾶλλον ἔννους γίνομαι
 καὶ λαμβάνω λογισμόν, ἔξεστηκα νῦν
 τελέως ἐμαυτῷ καὶ παρώξυμμαι σφόδρα
 ἐφ' οἵς μ' ὁ πατήρ ὑπέλαβεν ἡμαρτηκέναι.
 εἰ μὲν καλῶς οὖν εἶχε τὰ περὶ τὴν κόρην
 καὶ μὴ τοσαῦτ' ἦν ἐμποδὼν, ὅρκος, πόθος,
 χρόνος, συνήθει', οἵς ἐδουλούμην ἔγώ,
 οὐκ ἄν παρόντα γ' αὐτὶς ἡιτιάσατο
 αὐτὸν με τοιοῦτ' οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀποφθαρεὶς
 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄν ἐκποδὼν εἰς Βάκτρα ποι
 ἢ Καρίαν διέτριβον αἰχμάζων ἐκεῖ.

I then from the accusation I falsely endured / being liberated, was well content, and / that in this a great enough stroke of fortune had occurred / I supposed. But now as I become more self-possessed / and take account, I am / quite beside myself and irritated mightily / over where my father supposed that I had sinned. / If then all were well—the business of the girl— / and not so much were in the way—the oath, longing, / time, habit—by which enslaved was I, / not to my face could he again have accused / myself, me, of any such thing, but vanished / from the city, out of the way, to Bactra somewhere / or Caria, I would bide, shouldering the lance there.

Sandbach notes that he begins with colloquial language, then becomes more rhetorical.²⁵ But he ends with the Homeric αἰχμάζων. Menander has other fun. The expression τὰ περὶ τὴν κόρην is rather curious in a poem concerned with love, and the monosyllabic ποι and the adverb ἐκεῖ at the ends of the last two lines quoted, which form the crescendo of the first half of the monologue, are humorously deflating. Other touches of humor may be the positioning of ἔγώ at the beginning of 616 and the end of 625, the unexpected meaning of ἡγάπησα in 617, the skewed parallelism of ἐμποδὼν (624) and ἐκποδὼν (628), and the reversal of the expected order of Caria and Bactra. One can add such expressions (referring to his father and the Samian) as (26; 47–48):

ὑπ' ἀντεραστῶν μειρακίων ἐνοχλήσεται,
 by rival lad-lovers he will be mobbed,
 . . . ἕσως δ' αἰσχύνομαι

²⁵ *Commentary*, p. 618. Feneron, *Elements*, p. 117, regards Moschion's language as difficult to analyze, but remarks on its variety and avoidance of rhetorical devices, though asyndeton is prominent in the opening speech. He regards lines 616–40 as Menander's most notable use of amplification, basically consisting of doublets, and with "nothing said once if it can be said twice" (p. 118).

. . . ὅμως αἰσχύνομαι.²⁶

. . . perhaps I am ashamed / . . . still I am ashamed.

Moschion, in spite of all his practice, is no Demosthenes. Rather, with subtle parody and sympathy, Menander used Euripidean language in gentle satire of the pretensions of the ingenuous aping the speech of the educated.²⁷

III. Moschion and Polemon in the *Perikeiromene*

The Moschion of the *Perikeiromene* is cut from quite a different piece of cloth. He is lecherous, gullible, and given to boasting, though later in the play he begins to win our understanding, or at least our sympathy. Menander employs the adoption theme again, but his clever use of variety this time centers our interest on a mother as step-parent rather than on a father.²⁸ In the usual Menandrian parallelism, he is contrasted with his opposite, the soldier Polemon. He certainly shows traits suited to a delicately introspective youth, but Menander also provides a surprise by transferring to him many of the features of the *alazon* we expect in the soldier.²⁹ At home in a military play, the transference blends quite naturally into the spoiled character.

Alazones are also deluded about women, and this too is characteristic of Moschion. When his sister, who has recognized her long-lost brother, kisses him, he presumes it is due to his irresistible attraction. Somewhat *mal à propos* he swears by Athena, virgin and patron of the military, that he must follow the course of destiny. His language is marked by the most flamboyant terms (304):

τὴν δ' Ἀδράστειαν μάλιστα νῦν ἀρ[. . . προσκυν]ῶ.

Adrasteia now then indeed [I bow before].³⁰

²⁶ The interpretation of these lines is very difficult: see Sandbach, *Commentary*, p. 550. Menander may be teasing with the words of Eteocles (*Phoenissae* 510): πρὸς δὲ τοῖσδ' αἰσχύνομαι. For Euripidean overtones in the αἰδώς theme, see S. Jäkel, "Euripideische Handlungsstrukturen in der Samia des Menander," *Arctos* 16 (1982), 21, and A. Pertusi, "Menandro ed Euripide," *Dioniso* 16 (1953), 34, 40. He takes (39) line 632 (ὁ τῆς ἐμῆς νῦν κύριος γνώμης Ἔρως) as Euripidean (Irr. 136, 269, 431; *Hippolytus* 350 ff.).

²⁷ W. S. Anderson, "The Ending of the *Samia* and Other Menandrian Comedies," *Studi Classici in Onore di Quintino Caudella II* (Catania 1972), edd. S. Costanza et al., pp. 155–79, especially pp. 177–79, shows how Menander exploited the characters of Moschion and Demeas to produce a rather unexpected and unpredictable ending for the *Samia*.

²⁸ On Moschion, Feneron comments (*Elements*, pp. 113–14): "the accumulation of grand effects. . . ." On Polemon: ". . . probably the most consistently emotional young man in Menander" (p. 115).

²⁹ So W. T. MacCary, "Menander's Soldiers: Their Names, Roles, and Masks," *American Journal of Philology* 93 (1972), 282. He cites as names in the extant fragments: Thrason, Thrasonides, Thrasyleon, Bias, Polemon, Stratophanes, and Kleostratos.

³⁰ For the oath by Adrasteia, see above, note 8.

Inflated, bombastic, military language, typical of the *alazon*, is used by Moschion in addressing the slave Daos (e.g. 217–20). But he ends this sally with language befitting a mommy's boy (295–96):

... ποῦ 'στιν ἡ μήτηρ, ἐμὲ
... where's my mother, me³¹

However, what constitutes the uniqueness of Moschion is the skillful mixture of military bombast with the rhetoric—or false rhetoric—and introspection of more noble-minded youths.³² This can be recognized in the long speech at 526–50, constituting a sizable part of what remains of the third act.³³ He begins with *alazon* language (528–29), but shifts to a previous moment of disillusion, introduced with an expression of his lamentable condition.³⁴ The lines recall the Moschion of the *Samia* (532–36):

πολλῶν γεγονότων ἀθλίων κατὰ τὸν χρόνον
τὸν νῦν—φορὰ γὰρ γέγονε τούτου νῦν καλὴ
ἐν ἄπασι τοῖς “Ελλῆσι δι’ ὅ τι δή ποτε—
οὐδένα νομίζω τῶν τοσούτων ἀθλίον
ἄνθρωπον οὕτως ὡς ἐμαυτὸν ζῆν ἔγώ.

Of many wretches begotten in this time / now—and a fine harvest of this now exists / in all of Greece, for some strange reason or another— / none I account of all the lot so wretched / a mortal to live, as my very self.

Sandbach comments on the unusual artificiality of the word order.³⁵ Most striking is the dislocation of the personal pronoun ἔγώ in the last line quoted. Though Menander likes this position of ἔγώ for his young men, the word order here is an unparalleled *tour de force*.

³¹ Feneron (*Elements*, p. 114) notes the “artificial rhetoric” of the three rising tricola, culminating in the unique circumlocution εἰς τὸ προσδοκῶν ἔχουσι πᾶς (297).

³² Moschion is described by Feneron (*Elements*, pp. 44–45) as employing rhetorical “homoiokatarkton and homoioteleuton” in *Perikeiromene* 313–14:

εἰσιόντ' εὐθὺς φιλησμῷ δεῖ μ', ἀνακτήσασθ' ὅλως,
εἰς τὸ κολακεύειν τραπέσθαι, ζῆν τε πρὸς ταῦτην ἀπλῶς.

He notes that Moschion only has 57 full lines, but displays a clear style in them, “the most likably ridiculous . . . accumulation of ‘grand’ effects . . .” (pp. 113–14), and further that, as Moschion becomes unsure of himself, his style begins to break down, changing to paratactic, short units, parentheses and shifts of thought (p. 137, note 86).

³³ Sandbach (*Commentary*, p. 510) points to the recollections of Aristophanes, Euripides and Demosthenes in lines 527–36.

³⁴ Goldberg (*Making*, p. 50) observes how, by allowing Polemon to retain a simple and impetuous nature, but transferring the *alazoneia* to Sosias (and in the *Misoumenos* to Daos and Moschion), Menander is able to retain the comic potential of the *alazon* play.

³⁵ *Commentary*, p. 511. Feneron (*Elements*, p. 14) designates Thrasonides and the *Perikeiromene* Moschion as the main characters employing *plope* (the repetition of a word, especially in different cases, for purely emotional effect). He sees it as adding formality. Two of his examples are in prayer form. Moschion (532–35) uses it in a grand, traditional manner (p. 15).

From bombastic abuse of an abortive attempt by the soldier and his friends, accompanied by the *hetaira* Habrotonon, to abduct the girl Glykera, Moschion suddenly shifts into introspective speech reminiscent of tragedy. *Katagelos*, ridicule of others, turns to recognition of his own helplessness as he realizes the slave's treachery, and the true reason for the girl's arrival in the house. This is certainly one of the finest comic passages in the fragments of Menander, set in the subjective, stream-of-consciousness style used for the *Samia* Moschion. It is perhaps of note that both Moschions are described as practicing speeches intended for their parent.

In the recognition scene, Moschion's egocentricity reappears. Even if successful, his courtship of the girl would hardly have been in the best romantic tradition. Other comic youths seldom win their brides in a completely honorable fashion, but Moschion's conduct leaves even more than usual to be desired. One would, however, expect an expression of joy at the reunion with one's long-lost sister. Menander's gentle touch of irony and unwillingness to totally redeem a character at the end of a play appear in Moschion's unexpected reaction to the discovery of his sibling—a tragic expression of grief at his misfortunes (777–78):

εἰ δὲ γεγένηται τοῦτ', ἀδελφὴ δ' ἔστ' ἐμὴ
αὕτη, κάκιστ'] ἔφθαρμ' ὁ δυστυχῆς ἐγώ.

If this has happened] and sister she is mine, / I'm ruined [utterly,] o luckless me!

Of all Menander's young men, Polemon is the most inarticulate. He must be persuaded by Pataikos to dismiss his irregular crew, which is accompanied by the *hetaira* Habrotonon, and probably inspired by the slave, Sosias. He is slow to grasp that Glykera is not his "wife" as he terms her (*γαμετὴν γνωῶντά*, 487, 489). He resorts to shouting at Pataikos, knows little about legal procedure, and, when at a loss for words, suggests hanging himself. Only seven lines long, his speech nevertheless is a masterpiece of *ethopoia* (504–10):

οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι
λέγω, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, πλὴν ἀπάγξομαι.
Γλυκέρα με καταλέλοιπε, καταλέλοιπε με
Γλυκέρα, Πάταικ'. ἀλλ' εἴπερ οὕτω σοι δοκεῖ
πράττειν—συνήθης ἥσθα γὰρ καὶ πολλάκις
λελάληκας αὐτῇ πρότερον—έλθὼν διαλέγου,
πρέσβευσον, ἵκετεύω σε.

I know not what / to say, by Demeter, except that I will hang myself. / Glykera—me she has left, she has left me— / Glykera, Pataikos. But if you approve / the move, you were her friend, and often / chatted with her before—go and converse, / be my ambassador, I beseech you.³⁶

³⁶ Related by E. W. Handley, "Recent Papyrus Finds: Menander," *Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin* 26 (1979), 82, to *Epitrepones* 126 (302S). He sees the repetition as a

Some other lines reflect the simplest thought and expression. Lines 507–10, the coda to the outburst about Glykera, end in anxious impetuosity. Menander spices Polemon's speech only with the faintest aroma of military language. Perhaps line 513 is to be categorized as such:

αὕτη ἔστιν ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ πράγματος.

This is the salvation of the affair.

A peculiarity of his speech is a certain ambivalence in the diction. In the lines that follow (514–16):

ἔγώ γὰρ εἴ τι πώποτ' ἡδίκηχ' ὅλως—
εἰ μὴ διατελῶ πάντα φιλοτιμούμενος—
τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς εἰ θεωρήσαις—

I, if I have ever injured her in any way— / if I continue not in everything
to treat her lavishly— / her finery if you could just observe—

the φιλοτιμούμενος of 515 both means “to treat lavishly” and “to strive for honor.” Thus there is a very special and appropriate *double entendre* of the military and the romantic. Menander again reveals himself as a master of variation, skillfully alternating word-position, repetition and tenses. His language is studiedly beautiful, but apparently stylized rhythms and rhetorical flourishes, with a chiasmus unusual in the poet, convey a sense of the spontaneous expression of inarticulate grief. The phrasing reduces Polemon's complaint to its barest essentials:

Γλυκέρα με καταλέλοιπε, καταλέλοιπέ με
Γλυκέρα, Πάταικ'.

The poetic, but exaggerated, use of liquid sounds in alliteration, the repetition, including that of the beloved's name, and the obviously rhetorical effects contribute to a pathos à l'outrance, constituent of the scene's humor.³⁷ Menander has used these tricks both to produce elegant verse, and yet to produce also an effect of military ungainliness in the realm of Eros.

Some other peculiarities of Polemon's speech deserve attention. At 519 he adduces the expensive clothing given Glykera as a reason for forgiveness. A soldier's mystification with women's fashions could have belonged to the

characteristic device for expressing great emotion. D. Del Como, “Alcuni Aspetti del linguaggio di Menandro,” *Studi Classici e Orientali* (*Università di Pisa*) 24 (1975), 1–48, takes the repetition to represent “popular eloquence,” following E. Fraenkel, “Two Poems of Catullus,” *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* II (Rome 1964), p. 119.

³⁷ Feneron (*Elements*, p. 13) regards this type of phrasing (*kyklos*) as indicating loss of emotional control (see Demeas at *Samia* 465: Μοσχίων, ἔα μ', ἔα με, Μοσχίων) unbecoming to an old man, and possibly loss of dignity where a woman is concerned. Thrasonides (*Mis.* A.10) and Polemon (*Perik.* 506–07) would be similar cases. “Glykera” was used in *Glykera*, *Misogynes* and *Perik.* The invented story that she was Menander's mistress is discussed by Amott, *Menander I* (above, note 11), p. xvii.

alazon language of Middle Comedy, now redirected to less obvious ends. But he adds an allusion to her height (*τὸ μέγεθος*, 521).³⁸ This is the language not of the lover so much as of the recruiting officer.

At 975, in the midst of love's desperations—though speaking to the maid Doris, and therefore with some persuasive intent—Polemon is ready to “snuff himself out” (*ἴν’ ἐμαυτὸν ἀποπνίξαιμι*). The principle of transferring the traits of the lovers to the soldiers underlies the *Misoumenos* as well, yet this phrase is peculiar to Polemon. The term used by the more delicate Moschion of the *Samia* is “hang myself quickly” (*οὐκ ἀπάγξομαι ταχύ*; 91). Towards the end of the play, his friend Pataikos urges him to forget his military nature, lest he do something rash (1016–17):

τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιλάθου στρατιώτης [ῶν, ἵνα
προπετὲς ποήσης μηδὲ ἐν [

For the remainder, forget you [are] a soldier [so that] / a rash deed you may not perform, not even one!³⁹

In his reply, Polemon echoes Pataikos' words (1019):

πάλιν τι πράξω προπετές; . . .

Again will I do a rash deed? . . .

The tone of the utterance depends on the director and actor. If pronounced timidly, it could humorously contrast with the expected impetuosity of a soldier. Even though Agnoia in the prologue warns the spectator that Menander intends to undercut this expectation, Menander playfully toys with such a contrast throughout the play.

IV. Thrasonides in the *Misoumenos*

Unfortunately, the fragments of the *Misoumenos* are even less extensive than those of the *Perikeiromene*, but they are sufficient to reveal a world of difference in the treatment of the soldier. Though in the beginning of the plays the situations of Polemon and Thrasonides are similar, their initial actions are not at all alike.⁴⁰ In the *Misoumenos*, the girl turns cool towards Thrasonides on the presumption that his possession of her brother's sword is proof Thrasonides has killed and despoiled him. There is no preliminary act of violence leading to remorse of the kind that triggers Polemon's expressions of violence against himself. Thrasonides' initial

³⁸ Amott (*Greece & Rome* 15 [1968], 16) demonstrates the improvement in technique here over that used in the *Dyskolos* for Sostratos.

³⁹ W. W. Fortenbaugh, “Menander's *Perikeiromene*: Misfortune, Vehemence, and Polemon,” *Phoenix* 28 (1974), 430–43, takes 1016–17 to mean that Polemon should literally give up a military career. More likely is his relinquishment of the military ethos that has caused so much of his trouble.

⁴⁰ On Thrasonides, see Feneron, *Elements*, pp. 112–13.

attitude is rather one of reflection. Pacing back and forth in the rain in front of the house, he puzzles over the girl's conduct and his own reaction. Only later does he contemplate suicide.

A further contrast is to be found in the modes of self-extermination considered by the two soldiers. In his conversation with Pataikos in Act III of the *Perikeiromene*, Polemon looked forward to death by hanging, a solution to life's problems normally employed only by tragic heroines. In fact, Polemon uses the same word (*ἀπάγξομαι*, 505) as does the highly theatrical and not very military Moschion of the *Samia*, except that Moschion is more decisive (*οὐκ ἀπάγξομαι ταχύ*; 91). Later, in Act V, speaking to Doris, he uses the word *ἀποπνίξαιμι* (*ἴν'* *ἐμαυτὸν ἀποννίξαιμι*, 975), which probably means "hanging," though in the *Dyskolos* and the New Testament it means "drowning."⁴¹

The threatened suicide of Thrasonides, however, which is somewhat more essential to the plot, is less trivial. At some point in the play, probably in Act II, the hero asks someone, undoubtedly Getas, for a sword. Getas' felicitous non-compliance, leading him to remove all the swords from the house, forestalls Thrasonides, who then sets about recovering the girl's affections by less spectacular means. But later, in Act IV, Getas reports a scene in which Thrasonides again hints darkly at suicide. Krateia's father, Demeas, has come to rescue his daughter. Thrasonides threatens, in the presence of Krateia and her father, to take his own life. This is at least the implication of 309. Despite the self-serving nature of the threat, and the later ransom of Krateia without serious consequences for Thrasonides' continuation in this life, the self-destructive tendency is based on more reflection and applied to two different situations. These developments in the plot can hardly be suspected from the opening monologue.

In that monologue, Menander adapts the discourse of the *paraclausithyon* to the soldier, who thus of necessity acquires greater eloquence. But the speech is undercut by infelicities of language similar to those of Polemon. The overall texture or matter is quite different, resembling in tone neither that of Polemon nor of any other young lover we have seen (A1–A14):

ὦ Νύξ—σὺ γὰρ δὴ πλεῖστον Ἀφροδίτης μέρος
μετέχεις θεῶν, ἐν σοί τε περὶ τούτων λόγοι
πλεῖστοι λέγονται φροντίδες τ' ἐρωτικαί—
ἀρ' ἄλλον ἀνθρώπων τιν' ἀθλιώτερον
έօρακας; ἀρ' ἐρῶντα δυσποτμώτερον;
πρὸς ταῖς ἐμαυτὸν νῦν θύραις ἔστηκ' ἐγώ,
ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ περιπατῶ τ' ἄνω κάτω

⁴¹ See Sandbach, *Commentary*, p. 526. Wilamowitz conjectured *ἀπηγχόμην* for line 988. On the "attempted" suicide, see fr. 2 (Arrian, *Diss. Epicteti* 4. 1. 19) in F. H. Sandbach, *Menandri Reliquiae Selectae* (Oxford 1972), p. 182, and his *Commentary*, p. 440; E. G. Turner, "I: New Literary Texts," in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* Vol. XLVIII, M. Chambers, W. E. H. Cockle, J. C. Shelton, E. G. Turner, eds. (London 1981), p. 19.

ταμφοτερας μέχρι νῦν μεσούσης σου σχεδόν,
έξὸν καθεύδειν, τὴν ἐρωμένην ἔχων.
παρ' ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἔνδον ἔξεστίν τέ μοι
καὶ βούλομαι τοῦθ' ὡς ἀν ἐμμανέστατα
ἐρῶν τις, οὐ ποῶ δ'. ὑπαιθρίῳ δέ μοι
χειμ[ῶνος δ]ύντος ἐστὶν αἱρετώτερον
ἐστη[κέναι] τρέμοντι καὶ λαλοῦντι σοι ⁴²

O Night—for you Aphrodite's greatest share / possess among the gods, and in you cases about these things / most are pleaded, and the anxieties of love— / any other of men more miserable, / have you seen then, a lover made more pitiable by fate? / Before my doors now stand I, / in the narrow passage pacing up, down. / As you approach the mid-point of your course, / when I could be sleeping, my beloved holding, / for within my house she is, and the power have I / and desire this as would most maddenedly / some lover, but do it not. Under the sky I / in this storm find it more preferable / to stand trembling and chattering to you. ⁴³

At first sight, it appears that Menander has seriously adapted the romantic outburst of excluded or frustrated lovers in ancient comedy, though they exist more in Latin exaggerations than in the sober fragments of the Greek poet.⁴⁴ In reality, he has deftly and almost unnoticeably combined

⁴² The text given here was first published by E. G. Turner, "The Lost Beginning of Menander, *Misoumenos*": *Proceedings of the British Academy* 63 (1978) (Oxford 1978), pp. 315–31. It has now been published with a few small changes in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (above, note 41). Some objections and modifications to the text were offered at A29 by P. G. McC. Brown, *Classical Review* 30 (1980), 3–6. See Turner's reply, "Menander and the New Society of his Time," *Chronique d'Égypte* 54 (1979), 116. However, in the later redaction in *Ox. Pap.* XLVIII, he is sympathetic to the reading μακάριος (Rea), suggested by the determination of the characters as Ιαριος (see note *ad loc.*, p. 15). This weakens the suggestion of R. F. Thomas ("Menander, *Misoumenos* A28—A29," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 45 [1982], 175–76) that the reading for 29 should be [οὐ δῆ πολέμ]αρχός, rather than σύ χιλί]αρχός, based on the earlier understanding of the text as Ιαρχός.

⁴³ The discovery of POxy 3368 established the text at A4, though previously Handley had brilliantly arrived at the correct emendation ἄρ' ἄλλον ἀνθρώπον τιν' ἀθλιώτερον. Sandbach's emendation here "Απολλον, ἀνθρώπον τιν' ἀθλιώτερον would have made an unusual—though possibly humorous—invocation. Sandbach actually took "Απολλον here as a mere exclamation (*Commentary*, p. 443), influenced by Plutarch, *De cupid. div.* 525A. In support of ἄρ' ἄλλον M. Fantuzzi, "Menander *Misoumenos* A4," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 48 (1982), 66, had cited Theodorida, fr. 10 (Snell), lines 1–4, for εἰδες τιν' ἄλλον, where the Sun is addressed in negative rhetorical interrogation, and Euripides, *Epigrammata* 1 (D. L. Page, *Epigrammata Graeca* [Oxford 1975], p. 44, vv. 478–81). V. Citti, "Men. Misum. A8," *Atene e Roma* 28 (1983), 73–74, sees an allusion to Sappho 168 BV μέσσαι δὲ νύκτες. Other discussions of the passage are: J. M. Jacques, "Le début du *Misoumenos* et les Prologues de Ménandre," in U. Reinhardt, K. Sallmann eds., *Musa locosa* (Hildesheim 1974), pp. 71–79, esp. 74–76; and J. Blundell, *Menander and the Monologue* (*Hypommata* 59 [Göttingen 1980]), p. 73—who however seems to miss the humor.

⁴⁴ P. Flury, *Liebe und Liebessprache bei Menander, Plautus und Terenz* (Heidelberg 1986), pp. 50–52. The tragic aspects of meter and diction were observed by T. B. L. Webster, "Woman Hates Soldier: A Structural Approach to New Comedy," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 14 (1973), 292–93. More recently, G. Davis, "Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 3. 442 ff. and the Prologue to Menander's *Misoumenos*," *Phoenix* 32 (1978), 339–42, tries to show that the mock

elements from the elegant desperation of youthful lovers with the laughable use—or misuse—of language by the glorious military.⁴⁵ Sandbach notes that the opening speech, metrically appropriate to the dignity of the tragic stage, is in fact a recollection of a speech in the lost *Andromeda* of Euripides, and is similar to the opening words of Electra in Euripides' play of that name.⁴⁶ However, substantial differences from the two Moschions reveal that Menander, while creating a totally different type of military speech from that of Polemon, has remained true to the military ethos.⁴⁷

In the *Samia*, Moschion's monologue at 616–40 easily fits the situation. Devoid of platitudes, it is marked more by understatement than by its opposite. Similarly, in the *Perikeiromene*, Moschion's speech is restrained. The exposition of his lamentable condition is made in flowing and natural language, with a play on ἄθλιος in the positive degree (535). In the *Samia*, Moschion also avoids describing himself as “most wretched.” But in the *Misoumenos*, Menander certainly intends some parody through features such as the halting end-stopping of the lines, the useless internal rhyme, and the jerky final bisyllabic or monosyllabic words. Particularly noticeable are lines 6, 7 and 10:

πρὸς ταῖς ἐμαντοῦ νῦν θύραις ἔστηκ' ἐγώ . . .
ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ περιπατῶ τ' ἄνω κάτω . . .
παρ' ἐμοὶ γάρ ἔστιν ἔνδον ἔξεστίν τέ μοι . . .

The thirteenth line seems awkward.⁴⁸ The accumulation of comparatives, two of which fall into the same end-of-line position, is unusual,

tragic style of the prologue was the model for Ovid's *Narcissus*. Goldberg (*Making*, p. 52) gives allusions to the paraclausithyon theme before Menander: Euripides, *Cyclops* 485–502; Plato, *Symposium* 183a; Aristophanes, *Lysist.* 845–979, *Eccles.* 960–76. R. L. Hunter's discussion of paratragedy in Menander (*The New Comedy* [above, note 20], pp. 114–33) concentrates on the *Aspis*.

⁴⁵ See F. Sisti, “Il soldato Trasonide, ovvero la comicità del ‘rovescio’,” *Sandalion* 5 (1982), 97–105; esp. 98–110. S. Ireland, “Prologues Structure and Sentences in Menander,” *Hermes* 109 (1981), 178–88, points out that the initial appearance of a character in Menander has him speaking with more complex language than later on. But the parody here seems clear.

⁴⁶ Feneron (*Elements*, pp. 6–9) interprets anaphora as the sign of extreme emotion. On occasion, it is marked by tragic meter as well. There is a touch of humor in it, exploited to “type” cooks; e.g. Alexis, fr. 174 (Kock). He notes it here at A1–A2 and A4–A5 (p. 8).

⁴⁷ E. G. Turner, “Menander and the New Society” (above, note 42) seems to overlook this point (108–09). He does not accept McC. Brown's changes (above, note 42) for *Mis.* A33–34 (113–14).

⁴⁸ Feneron (*Elements*, p. 39) notes Sostratos' lines (*Dysk.* 571–73) ending in . . . μαντεύομαι / . . . προσεύχομαι, / . . . φιλανθρωπεύομαι where, after entering dispirited, he recites his lines with “fresh courage and pompous avowals.” On rhyme in general, see Feneron pp. 36–44, who treats it as resembling the use of tragic meter, which often accompanies it (p. 43). After Demeas of the *Samia* with 25 rhymes, he regards the two Moschions and Sostratos as the characters fondest of this device—“a feature of their general pomposity.”

an effect heightened by the superlative at 11 and the final comparative in 13. The incidence of unimportant words at line-ends is quite high, and the occurrence of . . . ἐγώ . . . μοι . . . μοι there suggests egocentricity and naïveté. The last word of the invocation, σοι, makes things even more ridiculous. The endings for three of the last five lines become μοι, μοι, σοι.⁴⁹

Menandrian prologues, syntactically more complex than the other parts of the drama, contain a great amount of subordination, a practice learned from Euripides. Apparently the purpose is rapid condensation. By contrast, the elementary syntax and end-stopping in Thrasonides' prologue is remarkable.⁵⁰ The meter is tragic, sparing of resolution, though resolution is frequent in both Menander's and Euripides' prologues. The lack of resolution here suggests a lack of ease and polish.⁵¹ In effect, Thrasonides speaks the language of an *alazon*, containing traits of the youths frustrated in love, but all underdrawn. Symptomatic of this attitude is the opening of the play at night, a device successful enough to be repeated.⁵²

A more extravagant style appears in the passage already mentioned from Act III, where Thrasonides braces himself to meet the girl's father (259–69):⁵³

πατήρ Κρατείας, φήις, ἐλήλυθ'[
 νῦν ἦ μακάριον ἦ τρισαθλιώταον
 δείξεις με τῶν ζώντων ἀπάντων γεγονότα.
 εἰ μὴ γὰρ οὕτος δοκιμάσει με, κυρίως
 δώσει τε ταύτην, οἴχεται Θρασωνίδης·
 ὅ μη γένοιτ'. ἀλλ' εἰσίωμεν· οὐκέτι
 τὸ τοιοῦτον εἰκάζειν γάρ, εἰδέναι δὲ δεῖ
 ἡμᾶς. ὄκνηρῶς καὶ τρέμων εἰσέρχομαι.
 μαντεύεθ' ἡ ψυχή τι μου, Γέτα, κακόν.
 δέδοικα. βέλτιον δ' ἀπαξάπ[αντα τ]ῆς
 οἰήσεως πως. ταῦτα θαυμάσαιμι δ' ἄν.

The father of Krateia, you say, has come [/ Now either blessed or thrice most miserable / you will prove me of all living things, begotten. / For if he will esteem me not and in due form / give her, done for is

⁴⁹ The introduction of Getas at A15 is now taken to be a certainty, based on POxy 3368 with a marginal note at this line (Tumer, "New Literary Texts" p. 3). However, the letters are not at all clear, though sigma seems to appear at the end, and the manuscript contains no other marginal names. An ending at A14 to Thrasonides' speech gives more emphasis to the absurd μοι, μοι, σοι separated by ἐμμανέστατα and αἱρετώτερον, the latter recalling the two comparatives earlier in the speech.

⁵⁰ S. Ireland (above, note 44), 183–85.

⁵¹ C. Prato in C. Prato, P. Giannini, E. Pallara, R. Sardiello and L. Marzotta, *Ricerche sul Trimeetro di Menandro: Metro e Verso* (Rome 1983), pp. 35–36.

⁵² M. Colantonio, "Scene notturne nelle commedie di Menandro: nota al Pap. Oxy. 2826," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 23 (1976), 59–64.

⁵³ A. Borgogno, "Per il testo di Menandro (*Aspis* 380; *Citharista* 94–95; *Misumenos* 259–61; fr. 471 Kö.)," *Prometheus* 6 (1980), 231, argues for ὡ τόχη to fill out line 259, based on *Aspis* 213–15. The interpretation of the last lines of this passage is extremely difficult. See Sandbach, *Commentary* pp. 454–55, for a discussion of the problems.

Thrasonides. / God forbid. But let us enter, for no longer / such conjecture but to know behooves / us. Shrinkingly and trembling I enter. / My soul prophesies, Geta, something evil. / I am still afraid. Better once for all than this / suspicion in some way. But these things I would marvel at.

He describes his condition in extreme terms, with use of final assonance (260–61):

νῦν ἡ μακάριον ἡ τρισαθλιώτατον
δείξεις με τῶν ζώντων ἀπάντων γεγονότα.

Nor does he shy away from the pathetic use of the third person (263):

οἴχεται Θρασωνίδης·

or the *plurale maiestatis* (265–66):

εἰδέναι δὲ δεῖ / ἡμᾶς.

Like a hero from Homeric song, he differentiates his organ of thought from himself, even if not in Homeric terminology (267):

μαντεύεθ' ἡ ψυχή τί μου, Γέτα, κακόν.

In the manner of a Hellenistic philosopher he speaks of his suspicion as an *oiesis*. The extent of this pomposity reflects the *alazon* origins of Thrasonides, though the phrasing of 260–61 is characteristic as well of non-military lovers.

This manner of speaking, though in a slightly different form, is reflected in his reported words in Act IV (305–10), importuning Krateia:

... “ἀντιβολῶ, Κράτεια, σέ,
μή μ' ἐγκαταλίπητις· παρθένον σ' εἴληφ' ἔγώ,
ἀνὴρ ἐκλήθην πρῶτος, ἡγάπησά σε,
ἀγαπῶ, φιλῶ, Κράτεια φιλτάτη· τί σοι
λυπηρόν ἔστι τῶν παρ' ἔμοι; τεθνηκότα
πεύσει μ' ἔὰν μ' ἐγκαταλίπητις.” ...

You, Krateia, I beseech, / please do not abandon me. A girl, you I have taken, / first been called your spouse. I loved you, / love, hold dear, Krateia dearest. What do you / find so dreadful in me? As a dead man / you will hear of me, if you abandon me.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ The aspect of the perfect continued to be strong through the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. But the perfect here could refer to Thrasonides' possession of the girl, rather than to the girl's virginity, as held by some scholars. See K. L. McKay, "The Use of the Ancient Greek Perfect Down to the Second Century A.D.," *Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin* 12 (1965) 1–21, and "On the Perfect and Other Aspects in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri," *ibid.* 27 (1980), 23–49, esp. 42. F. Bormann notes that once in Menander (fr. 568.5) ἔχω has erotic connotations, but claims ("Il prologo del *Misumenos*," *Atene e Roma* 25 [1980], 159–60) that Krateia must still be a virgin, referring to A9: τὴν ἐρωμένην ἔχων.

Here we find short, simple, asyndetic utterances, but not without art. Two similar phrases—μή μ' ἐγκαταλίπηις, ἐὰν μ' ἐγκαταλίπηις—have a framing effect. There is the nuanced repetition of Κράτεια, following a two line interval, with rhyme ἀγαπῶ, φιλῶ, Κράτεια φιλτάτη, and with hammering away on the second person at the ends of the lines in σέ, σε, σοι, but not without variations (σ'. . . ἐγώ, . . . τεθνηκότα). Moreover, the isolation of τεθνηκότα (309) pushes it into stark contrast. This speech suggests comparison with that of Polemon, for example, the lines (*Perik.* 506–07):

Γλυκέρα με καταλέλοιπε, καταλέλοιπέ με
Γλυκέρα, Πάταικ'.

In Polemon's lament, there is a touch of playfulness in the use of the name Glykera, as though the days of wine and roses were now over. Thrasonides utters the name Krateia plaintively, hinting at the immovable force resisting his imprecation.

We already saw that Polemon's φιλοτιμούμενος was ambiguous. Thrasonides' ἀντιβολῶ, is equally ambiguous. At 305, it implies a lovers' quarrel:

. . . “ἀντιβολῶ, Κράτεια, σέ,
μή μ' ἐγκαταλίπηις.”

But the verb is Homeric (*Iliad* XVI. 847):

τοιοῦτοι δ' εἴ πέρ μοι ἔείκοσιν ἀντεβόλησαν

If twenty such had against me come

There is a mock epic touch. Though ἀντιβολῶ is of course frequent in comedy for “entreat,” “beseech,” in the mouth of a soldier, the direct descendant of an epic warrior, it and the masculine sound of the name of the girl have an incongruous effect.

Coloring Thrasonides' speech elsewhere are other touches suggesting the language of a romantic *alazon* rather than the usual cultivated youth. For example at A43, where he explains Krateia's contempt, the exaggerated alliteration μισεῖ . . . με μῖσος. (Get.) ὡ M[α]γνῆτι σ. goes beyond the bounds of serious diction. His language here may be compared with a similar line of the theatrical *hetaira*, Habrotonon, in a flamboyant passage (*Epitrepones* 433):

θεῖον δὲ μισεῖ μῖσος ἄνθρωπός μέ τι.

Divine the hatred with which the man hates me, somehow.

The phrasing at A85–A89 resembles that of the love-sick youths, with rhetorical asyndeton and climax in φιλονικίαν πόνο[v] μανί[αν] (A87) and with the assonance φιλ[τάτη], φί[λτατος] (A86, A88) binding the words

together.⁵⁵ The exaggeration and clumsiness, presenting a soldier out of his depth in the expression of romantic feeling, humorously contribute to the delineation of his ethos.⁵⁶ Finally, the mutilated soliloquy at 360–90, where Thrasonides confesses that he refrains from alcohol so as not to reveal his secret, contains (if the reconstruction is correct) an awkwardly repeated word (. . . φ[έρειν . . . φέρω;) and clumsy metaphor (λί[θο]γ ψυχὴν φ[έρειν, 360).⁵⁷

Thrasonides shares some traits with the Moschion of the *Perikeiromene*. For example, though characters normally speak of “door” in the singular, Moschion, like Thrasonides in the prologue to the *Misoumenos*, or the goddess Agnoia in the prologue to the *Perikeiromene* (154), uses the high-sounding plural (299). Like Thrasonides, Moschion has some less impressive lines such as (298–99; 346–47):

(Δα.) πορεύσομαι.
 (Mo.) περιπατῶν δὲ προσμενῶ σε, ⟨Δᾶε⟩, πρόσθε τῶν θυρῶν.

(Daos) I will depart.
 (Moschion) Walking about, I will await you <Daos> before the doors.

Δᾶε; περιπατεῖν ποεῖς με περίπατον πολύν τινα.
 ἀρτίως μὲν οὐ[κ ἀλ]ηθές, νῦν δὲ λελάληκας πάλιν.

Daos? You make me walk an exceedingly long walk. / A moment ago not the truth, but now you have babbled again.

The effect of the alliteration would easily be heightened by a good actor.⁵⁸

V. Stratophanes and Moschion in the *Sikyonios*

The fragmentary nature of this play complicates the reconstruction of the ethos and language of the soldier, Stratophanes, and the youth, Moschion. Even so, much is revealed. Like Polemon in the *Perikeiromene*, the soldier has a foil in the youth, who this time, however, is the soldier's brother. Like Moschion in the *Perikeiromene*, this one also labors under a mistaken impression—here, that the soldier has kidnapped the girl he loves. Little of Moschion's part survives, but obviously he would have been quite different from the other two Moschions we have seen. His speech in Act V (396–410) is simple almost in the extreme, with the twice repeated “Moschion” at 396–97 in his address to himself. The simple language adds a touch of

⁵⁵ At least this was Sandbach's interpretation. However, Turner, following H. Lloyd-Jones, now prints φίλοφρόνως at A88, “to avoid repetition of φίλτατος” (“New Literary Texts,” p. 18).

⁵⁶ The new fragments appear to substantiate MacCary's views (“Menander's Soldiers” [above, note 29], 285) that Thrasonides has touches of *alazoneia* but is essentially a sympathetic character.

⁵⁷ This is highly conjectural. Line 360 reads: ἔστω στ[έγ]ειν με καὶ λί[θο]γ ψυχὴν φ[έρειν.

⁵⁸ Feneron too (*Elements*, p. 30) would see the assonance here as mock grandeur.

humor and quiet pathos. He explains that he must not look at the girl—while pointing out her physical merits to himself—and that he must be his new-found brother's best man (*παροχήσομαι δηλονότι* [404], an allusion to the custom whereby the "best man" drove the bride and groom to their new home on a mule or ox-cart, with the bride sitting between the two). His reflection on the happiness of his brother is typical of his simple, straightforward style (400):

. . . ἀδελφὸς ὁ γαμῶν· μακάριος κ.[
 . . . your brother the bridegroom, fortunate [

This speech, though consisting of fourteen lines with defective endings, is nonetheless sufficient to reveal the halting style more typical of a soldier than of the spoiled only son normally met among these comic youths. The first nine lines may be cited (397–405):

νῦν οὐδὲ προσβλέψαι σε, Μοσχίω[ν, ἔτι
 πρὸς τὴν κόρην δεῖ· Μοσχίων[
 λευκὴ σφόδρ', εὐόφθαλμός ἐστ'—οὐδὲ[ν λέγεις·
 ἀδελφὸς ὁ γαμῶν· μακάριος κ.[
 οἵον γὰρ—οὗτος, ἔτι λέγεις; οναντ[
 πρᾶγμ' ἐστ' ἐπαινεῖν χάριν ἐν.[
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐρῶ γε· μὴ γὰρ οτανοσον[
 παροχήσομαι δηλονότι καὶ κ[
 τρίτος [μετ'] αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες, οὐ δυ[νήσομαι

Now not even for you to gaze upon, Moschion, [still] / upon the girl is right. Moschion [/ Fair indeed she is, with beautiful eyes,—[you are talking] non[sense]; / your brother the bridegroom, fortunate [/ for such—you there, still talking? / One must praise the grace in [/ But I will not say it <or: "I am not in love"> / I will ride along, obviously, and <make up> / a threesome [with] them. Friends, [I will] not [have the strength . . .

The few lines elsewhere, for instance at 274–79, do not contradict this picture of halting diction and simplicity. He uses a commonplace idiom at 278 (*πρᾶγμ' ἔξέταζε[*, 278; cf. *πρᾶγμ'* ἐστ' later at 402). Nothing of the flamboyant, melodramatic speech of the *Samia* Moschion, the elegance of Sostratos or swashbuckling *alazoneia* of the *Perikeiromene* Moschion appears.

In spite of their differences, Moschion and Stratophanes have much in common. Stratophanes, in fact, seems the victor in the contest of banalities. The simplicity of his language anticipates the theatre of the absurd. He surely wins no prizes for originality. His reaction to the news of his mother's death typifies his style (124–26):

(Θη.) καὶ σκυθρωπὸς ἔρχεται.
 (Στρ.) μή τι συμβέβη]κεν ἡμῖν, Πυρρία, νεώτερον;
 μὴ γὰρ ἡ μῆτηρ] τέθνηκε;
 (ΠΥΡΡΙΑΣ) πέρυσιν.

(Στρ.)

οἵμοι· γραῦς σφόδρ' ἦν·

(Theron)

He comes with a grim look.

(Stratophanes) Surely nothing has [happened to] us, Pyrrhias, a new blow?
Don't tell me my mother] has died?

(Pyrrhias)

A year ago.

(Stratophanes)

Alas! She was quite an old woman.

Stratophanes' appearance elsewhere in the fragments is limited to brief moments in Acts IV and V, in the last of which we have a speech of eleven consecutive lines. His simplicity is perhaps indicated by the very large number of half lines: 10 out of 12 which can be reconstructed out of 120–52; 3 out of 7 in 272–310; 7 out of 8 before an 11 line speech in 376–95. Something of his simplicity may be seen in his one-line reaction to the revelation that Moschion is his brother.

οἱ Μοσχίων ἀδελφὸς ἐμός ἐσ[τιν, πάτερ;

Moschion [is] my brother, [father?]

In the reconstruction, the sequence of two initial trisyllabic words followed by three bisyllabic produces a halting, surprised effect which could easily be enhanced by a skilled actor. We might contrast these with the lines of Moschion in the *Perikeiromene* on the revelation that the object of his desires is his sister: a melodramatic speech of five lines, with accusatives and infinitives, a conditional clause, and a flowery self-lament (774–78). Perhaps significant for his ethos is Stratophanes' speech at 385–96. It consists of rather lengthy sentences and clauses, but they are basically imperatives with their objects strung out after them. As though to say a soldier expresses himself best in commands, Menander allows orders to predominate elsewhere as well.⁵⁹

In the reconstruction, the speech begins with a staccato command (385–86):

Δόναξ,
παῖ, παῖ,] Δόναξ, φράσον εἰσιὰν πρὸς Μαλθάκην
Donax,
boy, boy] Donax, say, going in to Malthake

and leads into a series of details about boxes and pack asses, such as we might expect from an army officer. It ends rather as it had begun, with an emphasis on command (395–96):

καὶ τοὺς ὄνους, ταῦτα λέγ'. ἐγὼ[
ἐντεύξομ' αὐτὸς τὰλλα τῷ τ.[
and the asses. Mention these things. I[
will petition myself about the other things to the [...]

⁵⁹ For example, lines 141, 145, 146, 147, 383.

Notable as well is Stratophanes' swearing by Herakles (158), normal for a soldier, and contrasting with the picturesque supplication of the *Perikeiromene* Moschion to Adrasteia (304) and, if the reconstruction is accurate, the hollow echo of Moschion's final words at 273:

(?ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ) τοὺς ἀνδραποδιστὰς ἀπαγαγεῖ[ν νῦν] ἐγώ—
(?Στρ.) ἡμᾶς σύ;

(?Moschion) Lead away the slave dealers, [I bid you.

(?Stratophanes) You us?⁶⁰

This general pattern of halting simplicity, but with an officer's self-possession and imperious style, is accompanied by a total lack of *alazoneia*. There are, however, two exceptions. The hyperbaton at 125, where μή τι . . . and . . . νεώτερον are widely spaced, is notable. The other exception to the normal banality of expression is at 136–37:

ἥλθε περὶ τούτων ἀπάντων μοι τότ' εὐθὺς γράμματα
τὴν τε τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ἄμα λέγοντ' εἰς Καρίαν.

There came, for me, about all these things then, straightway, letters— / of my father's death telling—at the same time into Karia.

The translation necessarily exaggerates the hyperbaton, which is a more natural feature of the Greek language. Yet the effect is so pronounced and untypical of Stratophanes' speech elsewhere that it suggests a teasing Menander satirizing his soldier. But, more probably, wishing to enhance the emotional effect of Stratophanes' reaction to the touching news of his parents' deaths, he turned to tragic diction with its overtones of nobility and pathos.

VI. Special Criteria: Periods, End-stop and Hyperbaton

A more specific investigation into the styles of Menander's young men, revealing greater differences, can put them into better perspective. Three useful criteria are periods, end-stop and hyperbaton. The periodic structure and hyperbaton are in fact quite extraordinary in the case of the non-military youths, while end-stop seems to have been employed to characterize the soldiers. Any conclusions here are of course weakened by the fragmentary nature of the plays, with their uneven line-distribution, and the chance survival of monologues, where the elevated style is more likely to appear. Even so, the criteria serve a purpose in distinguishing the tenor of particular speeches.

One of the early studies of Menander's style singled out enjambment and the paratragic manner as key methods of individuation. However, enjambment was regarded as colloquial, belonging to low or secondary

⁶⁰ Supplement to 272 by Austin. Many think Stratophanes threatens Smikrines here.

characters, and "absolutely lacking in the principal ones." The paratragic style was viewed solely as an attempt to elevate the diction and seriousness of the passage.⁶¹ Other suggested criteria for testing the speech of the characters are connectives in continuous discourse, the use of subordination, and hyperbaton.⁶² Asyndeton seems to be involved with the attempt to reproduce more faithfully the realism of the oral style, in passages contrasting with the more literary prologues.⁶³

Another approach has been the study of assonance, verbal repetition, oaths and meter.⁶⁴ There is a close relationship between the language and versification of Euripides and Menander. Stricter, more severe meter was used by Menander for lower-class persons (*Daos* in *Epitrepontes* 240–69) or less cultivated ones (*Gorgias* in the *Dyskolos*), or apparently for comic effect (*Moschion*, *Samia* 616–40). In contrast, Demeas' speech at *Samia* 206–82 has a large number of resolutions, as do Menander's Euripidean prologues.⁶⁵

More elegant speakers use their periods naturally and effectively, as many scholars have noticed. Sostratos in the *Dyskolos* has quite a few (309–13, 384–89, 525–28, 666–69, 673–77, 798–800, 800–02). The first (309–13) is well constructed, ending with the verb and containing variation in the subordinate phrasing through the use of a conditional clause followed by a participle. The second (384–89) has a long introductory condition (including a long participial clause), with the important word *μακάριον* at the end. In a narrative passage, we find another period (525–28) with the verb appropriately stationed at the end for suspense and emphasis. At 666–69 there is a short period, cleverly constructed, with repetition of oaths and an important word positioned last, but as though it were an afterthought (*μικροῦ*). Sostratos has two short periods at 798–800 and 800–02. In the first, an important word (*μεταδίδούς*) appears at the end of the periodic clause, while in the second he finishes with *τούτων τινί*, perhaps to enhance the contrast with . . . *ἀναξίῳ τινί* in the next line. There is a great deal of variety in the introductions of these sentences (condition,

⁶¹ S. Zini, *Il Linguaggio dei Personaggi nelle Commedie di Menandro* (Florence 1938), p. 120.

⁶² Sandbach (*FH* [above, note 5], p. 138) thought hyperbaton so usual in verse that it might pass unnoticed in Menander "and be more frequent than I supposed."

⁶³ See D. Del Corvo (above, note 36), 46.

⁶⁴ J. S. Feneron, "Some Elements of Menander's Style," *Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin* 21 (1974), 81–95 points to assonance and end-rhyme in Sostratos' speech (*Dysk.* 571–73), paronomasia and end-rhyme in Gorgias' (*Dysk.* 253–54), and gives statistics on rhymes used: Demeas (*Samia*) 25; Sostratos (*Dysk.*) and Moschion (*Samia*) 11; Gorgias (*Dysk.*) 5; Moschion (*Perikeir.*) 4 (81–84). Because of the brevity of the *Perikeir.* fragments, the four rhymes here may be quite significant. On assonance in general see also Feneron, *Elements*, pp. 27–64 (paronomasia, 31–36; rhyme 36–46).

⁶⁵ C. Prato, introduction to *Ricerche sul Trimetro di Menandro* (above, note 51), pp. 22–23, 32–34, 36.

participle, indicative, command) and in the conclusions. No one pattern predominates.

The language of the two Moschions, though similar to that of Sostratos, contains a touch of affectation. The *Perikeiromene* Moschion uses the periodic mode to express his lamentable condition in lines 532–36. This elegantly constructed sentence begins with a genitive absolute, followed by an interjectory sentence, and concludes with a main clause in which the two important and grammatically connected words are positioned respectively at the beginning and end of the line. The *Samia* Moschion in his initial monologue employs a long period at 19–22, on the distressing introduction of the Samian into his father's house. Variety is achieved by having the period follow a two-word sentence (*ἥν κόσμιος*), and is itself followed by three short, impetuous main verbs. The suspense is cleverly increased by two interjectory sentences explaining his devotion to details and the leisurely pace he intends to pursue. Two phrases (*Σαμίας ἐταίρος* at the opening of 21, and *πρᾶγμ' ἵσως ἀνθρώπινον* at the closing of 22) seem to have been positioned deliberately. The major point, the father's passion for the Samian, is followed by a parallel philosophical reflection on the weakness of human nature, with a slight chiastic effect. The circumstantial background of his fall is introduced shortly in periodic fashion (41–43), contrasting with the paratactic mode used to express his shame (47–48), and the declaration of the essential, Plangon's pregnancy, given in a stark three-word indicative sentence (49).

In Act V, the long period opening Moschion's speech at 616–40 is noteworthy for its positioning of the subject *έγώ* at the beginning of the sentence, with the verb (*ὑπέλαβον*) at the end and at the first position in its line (616–19). The next sentence, a continuation of the first, is slightly periodic, with the important verb *ήμαρτηκέναι* reserved for both the end of the sentence and line.

This is followed by the most elaborate period to be found in the expostulations of Menander's young men, that in Moschion's proposal to embrace the rigors of the mercenary life in order to confound his father (623–29). A neatly balanced contrary to fact condition, with two conditions in the protasis, one introduced by *εἰ μέν* and the other by *καὶ μή*, is followed by a bifurcated apodosis, the first part introduced by *οὐκ ῥ* and the second by *ἄλλ'*. Interspersed between the conditions is a relative clause, followed by two participles towards the end of the last three lines. All this in complex but natural speech reflects the delicate attention to words and phrasing apparently typifying Moschion's "rehearsals." Throughout, important words are situated at the beginnings or ends of enjambmed lines. In contrast to the sophistication of these speeches, Thrasonides' monologue has no periods and virtually no long introductory clauses. In contrast to Moschion's speech, the extremely long speech of Demeas in the *Samia* contains only a brief stretch (238–44) in the periodic mode.

The halting Polemon has only two periods. One at 507–09 is awkward, with an interjectory sentence ending in two imperatives and another verb, in asyndeton. Even this sentence was probably designed to lay bare the limited scope of Polemon's rhetoric, with interruptions and inconsistencies rather than true periodicity. The second, unfinished sentence at 514–16 consists of two unpolished conditional clauses followed by another condition, with *e'i* after the object of its verb. Here again, Menander probably wanted to portray ungainly interruption rather than the periodic style.

Next to Polemon and his lack of elegance, Gorgias has some periodic sentences, though uttered with difficulty. The slightly periodic sentence at 234–38, in which he admonishes the slave Daos, is slowed down by unnatural word order. There is a long speech on *τύχη* at 271–87 with four fairly long sentences—or three, if one is taken as part of the same sentence. In the only one which is periodic, the final word (*τίνα*) is curiously and ineffectively positioned.

The employment of end-stops to suggest awkwardness in expression is another possible criterion for analyzing the styles of the young men. The opposite of end-stopping, enjambment, can be understood as necessary—that is, grammatically required to complete the thought; or unnecessary—additions made to complete an otherwise independent thought. If one takes end-stopping in a looser sense, then the feature is quite pronounced in the opening seven lines of Gorgias' speech at 271–87, but not noticeable thereafter. It characterizes the excited words of Polemon at 512–17, but is absent from the more reflective speech at 981–88. However, end-stopping is most prominent in the opening monologue of Thrasonides (A1–A15). The hero begins with three elegant—and slightly absurd—lines in a period followed by six or seven end-stopped lines. But he recovers to close the address with a graceful, though not very complex, period, marred by the infelicity of *μοι* and *σοι* completing its first and third lines. The pronouns *μοι* and *σοι* are popular among monosyllables for closing lines, but here seem deliberately combined for humorous effect, as, perhaps, also in the *Perikeiromene* Moschion's speech at 584–89. Elsewhere in the same speech (526–50), we find *μοι*, *έγώ* and *έμου* closing the lines.

This curious use of weak monosyllabic words characterizes Thrasonides' language elsewhere. The last four lines of A1–A15 contain the pattern: . . . *μοι*, . . . *έμμανέστατα*, . . . *μοι*, . . . *αἰρετώτερον*, . . . *σοι*. In a later speech at 259–69, we find . . . *δεῖ*, . . . *τῆς*, and, most astoundingly, at the conclusion of the speech the counterproductive . . . *ἄν* (*ταῦτα θαυμάσαιμι δ' ἄν*).⁶⁶ Attempted elegance falls delightfully on its face as

⁶⁶ The termination of a line with the particle *ἄν* is not unparalleled in Menander, appearing in *Dysk.* 814 (Kallipides, the father of Sostratos); *Epitrep.* 903 (Onesimos, the slave of Charisios); *Samia* 301 (Pataikos); and fr. 568. 2 (Sandbach). However, in *Dysk.* 814 it forms an interjectory phrase (*πῶς γὰρ ἄν;*). *Samia* 301 and fr. 568 use it with enjambment. The only

periods alternate with broken thoughts and end-stopped lines. The tendency towards end-stopping appears as well in the speech at 259–69.

The final criterion, hyperbaton, can be found in the more “profound” speeches of the characters. One of the first studies dedicated solely to Menander’s style was quick to notice the change from a more natural to an elevated tone, signaled by the introduction of a few stilted words (e.g. *Perikeiromene* 486), or the change from tragic to commonplace (e.g. as Moschion begins to reason more coolly at *Samia* 634–35).

Hyperbaton may be defined as the inversion of the normal word order. The inflected nature of Greek, with the modification of nouns by adjectives, allows a much less rigid structure than English. It is, however, not always so easy to determine the amount of parody or humor intended. Greek word order is also different from that of English, especially in a periodic tendency—the positioning of verbs and other words at the end of a clause or sentence. A word may become emphatic if followed by less emphatic ones, such as enclitics like μοί, σοί and so on. Enjambment too may give a word emphasis if the following word in the next line is unemphatic.⁶⁷ Obviously much could depend upon an actor’s interpretation, and scholars might not agree on what actually is hyperbaton.

Some earlier critics of Menander seem to have missed the humor of his paratragic style. For example, the recognition scene of the *Perikeiromene* contains the longest piece of poetic diction in the extant corpus, contrasting with the plain language of Moschion in the second half of his speech at 526–50 (200 lines back). Moschion’s more elevated style, with the reversal of expectations in the paratragic mode in the acknowledgment of his new-found sister (774–79), serves as a humorous transition to the stichomythia. It is even possible that at 788 Pataikos’ words on the separation of the children:

πῶς οὖν ἐχωρίσθητ’ ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων δίχα;

How then were you separated from each other in two?

are a deliberate echo of Euripides’ description of the division between heaven and earth:⁶⁸

ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα

after they were separated from each other in two

strict parallel then is with the language of the low-class Onesimos. The number of monosyllabic words ending lines is quite limited in Menander: a few verbs or verb forms: χρῆ, δεῖ, εἰ, ἦν, ὄν, ὅν; connectives: δέ, καί, ἢ, μέν, γάρ; emphatic particles: γε, δή, νή, ναι, μή, οὖν, νῦν; personal pronouns, the definite article and forms of εἰς: μοῦ, μοί, μέ, σύ, σοῦ, σέ, σοί, τοῦ, τήν and εἰς, ἔν; interrogatory or indefinite particles: ποῦ, που, ποῖ, ποι, πω; and a very few nouns like γῆν, πᾶν.

⁶⁷ I am grateful to Professor Sandbach for this observation.

⁶⁸ Sandbach, *FH* (above, note 5), pp. 126–27.

Even so, Moschion's line at 793 with its monosyllables and strong caesuras seems to play off colloquial thought and phrasing against tragic meter:

ομώμοκεν τῇ μητρί. ποῦ πότ' εἰμι γῆς;

He has sworn to my mother. Now where in the world am I?

A mock tragic opening for a character, or at least one in the elevated style, seems typical for Menander. The introduction of Knemon's daughter in the *Dyskolos* runs (189):

οῖμοι τάλαινα τῶν ἐμῶν ἐγὼ κακῶν·

Alas! Wretched in my, am I, ills.

She then relates the great tragedy of her bucket falling down the well. Inversions of word order found elsewhere in Gorgias' lines contribute to a slightly stilted diction. Here, the poet's humor would best be appreciated by his own literary coterie, nursed in the tragic style of the Dionysian theatre.

The word order of Gorgias, only slightly less natural than that of Sostratos, contains distorted word patterns primarily in speech openings, such as (234–38; 271; 289):

ἔδει σε, νὴ Δία,
τὸν τῇ κόρηι προσιόντα, *(Δᾶ')*, ὅστις ποτ' ἦν,
ἰδεῖν τότ' εὐθύς, τοῦτο τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνου
εἰπεῖν θ' ὅπως μηδείς ποτ' αὐτὸν ὅψεται
ποιοῦντα·

You ought, by Zeus, / the one approaching the girl <Daos>, whoever he was, / to have seen, then, straightway and "that, in the future" / to have said, "no one should again see him / doing."

εἶναι νομίζω πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγὼ

to be consider for all men, I

ἔργον δοκεῖς μοι φαῦλον ἔζηλωκέναι

a deed you seem to me, base, to have desired,

The *Samia* Moschion affects tragic diction at 632, where in discussing his reasons for rejecting the mercenary life "in Bactra or Caria" he elegantly describes the tyranny of love as:

ό τῆς ἐμῆς νῦν κύριος γνώμης "Ἐρως

the of my—now lord—heart, Love

Artificial interlocking (ό τῆς ἐμῆς νῦν κύριος γνώμης "Ἐρως) with the significant word κύριος as a pivot and the climax in "Love" (Eros), along with the exaggerated regularity of meter epitomize the Menandrian humor of these delightful verses. But the effectiveness of the line derives from the consistency with which Moschion uses natural, flowing language. In part, this is the trendy discourse used by Sostratos and his friend Chaireas

in the *Dyskolos*: variation, short paratactic verbs, participial phrases, contrasts, unexpected turns, interjected philosophizing. It is the uniqueness of the line which draws attention to it. Moreover, its starkness is partially removed by its grafting onto the previous one. Menander's verbal finesse then reflects a certain sympathy for Moschion.

As one might expect, the most affected speaker, the *Perikeiromene* Moschion, is especially given to indulgence in hyperbaton. One can cite the following (295–96; 312–13; 533; 535–36; 545):

εἰσιὰν δέ μοι σύ, Δᾶς, τῶν ὄλων κατάσκοπος
πραγμάτων γενοῦ, . . .

Entering, for me, you, Daos, of all —the lookout— / events, become. . .

τὴν δὲ μητέρα
εἰσιόντ' εὐθὺς φιλῆσαι δεῖ μ', . . .

and my mother— / approaching, straightway to kiss, I have to, . . .

τὸν νῦν—φορὰ γὰρ γέγονε τούτου νῦν καλὴ⁶⁹
the now—for a crop has come about of this now fine

οὐδένα νομίζω τῶν τοσούτων ἄθλιον . . .
ἄνθρωπον οὕτως ὡς ἐμαυτὸν ζῆν ἐγώ . . .

none consider of all that number miserable / a man such as myself to live—I.

ἄριστον αὐτοῖς καταλαβὼν [προκείμενον⁶⁹ . . .
the morning meal for them having found [lying ready

Other lines such as 302 and 304 might be adduced. Hyperbaton with mock tragic effect is quite significant, appearing not only at Moschion's entrance, but throughout his lines.

Since next to him Thrasonides has the highest percentage of these lines, one must strongly suspect that Menander has intentionally clothed Thrasonides in the language of paratragedy associated with the *alazones* of Middle Comedy. Among these distorted lines are (A6; 260–61; 267):

πρὸς ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν θύραις ἔστηκ' ἐγώ,
Before the—of myself—now, doors stand I,

νῦν ἦ μακάριον ἦ τρισαθλιώτατον
δείξεις με τῶν ζώντων ἀπάντων γεγονότα.

Now either blessed or thrice most miserable / you will reveal me of all living things, begotten

μαντεύεθ' ἦ ψυχή τι μον, Γέτα, κακόν.

⁶⁹ Professor Sandbach informs me—on the basis of a reexamination of the text—that OCT προκείμενον is not substantiated here.

Prophesies my soul something, Geta, evil.

The meter in Thrasonides' lines here is in general suitable for tragedy, with little resolution, and there is a tendency towards exaggerated regularity, such as in 263.⁷⁰ Whether this type of style had come to be strongly associated with soldiers is difficult to say. There is a touch of it in Stratophanes, especially in *Sikyonios* 166–67, where we would least expect it, since in general his style is simple, direct and soldierly.

VII. The Young Men of Euripides and Menander Compared

Since Menander's drama draws heavily on Euripides, the style of his young men can be illuminated by comparison with those of his model.⁷¹ Similar characters in the older poet are Hippolytus, Ion and Orestes in their eponymous plays; Orestes again in the *Iphigenia in Tauris* and *Electra*; Polynices in the *Phoenissae*; Achilles in the *Iphigenia in Aulis*; and Pentheus in the *Bacchae*. Periodic structure, hyperbaton, end-stop and certain other features in Euripides put Menander's style in better perspective.

First, Euripides appears to avoid real periodic structure. For example conditional clauses frequently end rather than initiate thoughts. Lines frequently are made up of a steady flow, the accumulation of independent elements. The opportunity for a period is obvious at *Orestes* 82–111, in particular at 105. But Euripides refuses the bait there, and again in the *Iphigenia in Tauris* 947–54. Usually, Euripides' lines are rather paratactic, with an introductory temporal clause rather than a condition—if there is to be an introductory clause. Another good example of the avoidance of periodic structure is *Phoenissae* 469–96. In place of it, Euripides piles up shorter individual elements. In Orestes' speech in *Orestes* 566–70, the hero begins with a condition (*εἰ γάρ*), main verb, participle, participle, then concludes with another main verb and participle. At *Hippolytus* 618–24 we find: *εἰ γάρ . . . /οὐκ . . . χρῆν . . . /ἀλλ᾽ . . . / πρίασθαι. . .* It would have been quite possible to subordinate everything before the *ἀλλ'*.

⁷⁰Valuable observations on the linguistic and metrical adaptation for different characters can be found in Sandbach's *FH* article, while observations on meter are contained in his *Commentary*, pp. 36–39. In the article, pp. 124–25, he notes that the making of position before *muta cum liquida* appears in lines where tragic or mock-tragic tone seems to be intended. In the lines cited for unnatural word order here, such "tragic" scansion does not appear. (The first *α-* of *τρισαθλιώτατον* in Thrasonides' speech at 260 is of course long by nature.) Definite articles generally appear in these lines, though Moschion at *Perik.* 545 omits one before *ἄριστον*. General principles are found in C. Prato (above, note 51).

⁷¹ The following texts of Euripides have been used: *Phoen.* and *Iph. Aul.* ed. G. Murray, OCT; *Hippolytus*, *Electra*, *Iph. Taur.*, *Ion*, ed. J. Diggle, OCT; *Bacchae*, ed. E. C. Kopff (Teubner); *Orestes*, ed. W. Biehl (Teubner); *Helena*, ed. K. Alt (Teubner). The Teubner texts of *Ion* (ed. Biehl) and *Iph. Taur.* (ed. D. Sansone) have also been consulted.

Likewise, hyperbaton is extremely limited in Euripides, though there is some tendency for it to occur in a character's opening lines.⁷² Hyperbaton suggests pomposity, a dangerous lack of humility, or some other unstable character trait, though it also introduces a character in an idealized, heroic way. Orestes in the *Electra* comes upon the stage with the following words (83–84):

Πυλάδη, σὲ γὰρ δὴ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων ἐγὼ
πιστὸν νομίζω καὶ φίλον ξένον τ' ἔμοι·

Pylades, you indeed first of men—I / faithful consider, dear and a friend to me.

A more dangerous character, Eteocles in the *Phoenissae*, expresses himself in unusual hyperbaton (504–07):

ἄστρων ἀνὲ ἔλθοιμ' ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς
καὶ γῆς ἔνερθεν, δυνατὸς ὁν δρᾶσαι τάδε,
τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν Τυραννίδα.

The stars—I would come—towards the sun's risings / and beneath the earth, being able to accomplish such things, / the—of the gods—greatest, so as to possess, Tyranny.

Introducing oneself with hyperbaton is characteristic of divine characters such as Dionysus in the *Bacchae* (1–2):

"Ηκω Διὸς παῖς τήνδε Θηβαίαν χθόνα
Διόνυσος, . . .

I come Zeus' son, to this Theban land, / Dionysus . . .

or Aphrodite in the *Hippolytus* (1–2):

Πολλὴ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι κούκ ἀνώνυμος
Θεὰ κέκλημαι Κύπρις οὐρανοῦ τ' ἔσω·

Mighty among mortals and not without name, / the goddess, am I called, Kypria—and heaven within.

The Dioscuri in the *Helena* are more modest (1643–45):

δισσοὶ δέ σε
Διόσκοροι καλοῦμεν, οὓς Λήδα ποτὲ
ἔτικτεν 'Ελένην θ', . . .

. . . the twin—you—/ Dioskouroi—we call upon, whom Leda once / begot, and Helene, . . .

Apparently more humble deities—such as Hermes and Athena in the *Ion*—use more restrained language. Hyperbaton also appears in the address of

⁷² For a study of Euripidean prologues, see H. Erbse, *Beiträge zum Prolog der euripideischen Tragödie* (Berlin 1984).

mortal characters to their divine superiors, such as by Hippolytus to Artemis in the *Hippolytus* (1092):

ὁ φιλτάτη μοι δαιμόνων Λητοῦς κόρη

O dearest to me of divinities, Leto's maiden,

concluded by his parting words (1440–41):

χαίρουσα καὶ σὺ στείχε, παρθέν' ὀλβία·
μακρὰν δὲ λείπεις ῥαδίως ὄμιλίαν.

Faring well, depart thou, maiden blest. / A long—you leave lightly—fellowship.

Also noteworthy is Jocasta's invocation of the Sun in the opening of the *Phoenissae* (1–3):

Ὦ τὴν ἐν ἄστροις οὐρανοῦ τέμνων ὁδὸν
καὶ χρυσοκολλήτοισιν ἐμβεβώς δίφοις
“Ἥλιε, . . .”

O, the—among the stars of heaven, cleaving—way, / and the golden-studded—having mounted—chariot, / Helios, . . .

In the romantic context of Moschion's love for Plangon in the *Samia* (632), the hyperbaton humorously serves to divinize the beloved. The hyperbaton here suggests the exaggeratedly formal diction associated with divine beings in Greek tragedy, but the girl's name Plangon (wax doll), is not normally associated with feminine deities.⁷³

Euripides' young men use end-stopped lines, though not often. For example in Pentheus' speech (*Bacchae* 214–63), 32 out of 49 lines are treated in this way. In Orestes' speech (*Electra* 82–111), 23 out of 29 lines are end-stopped. In each case, this may be intended to portray youthful nervousness.

On occasion, Euripides uses monosyllables to end lines, but the practice is limited to certain words and often followed by enjambment. In some instances, such as at *Orestes* 554 (οὐκ εἴη ποτ' ἄν) and 1083 (σοὶ γε μήν), the words may have been considered a unit. In Orestes' speech at 268–306, however, we find some peculiarly similar phrasing ending in monosyllables, where the words are not part of a larger unit, nor all that emphatic: . . . ἔμελλε φῶς, . . . ἐκταθεῖσα δός, . . . ἔρημος ὄν (292, 302, 206). Euripides at times concludes a line with the monosyllabic ἄν, but it is always with some enjambment, such as the strictly necessary kind found at *Iphigenia in Aulis* 966–67, where Achilles utters:

. . . οὐκ ἡρνούμεθ' ἄν
τὸ κοινὸν. . . .

⁷³ A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus II* (Cambridge 1950), p. 55.

Orestes (*Iph. Taur.* 98) possibly ends a question with ἄν:

πῶς ἀν οὖν λαθοίμεθ' ἄν;
ἢ χαλκότευκτα. . . ,

though something is carried over by the ἢ. In fact, the Loeb editor gave it non-essential enjambment:

πῶς ἄν οὖν μάθοιμεν ἄν
μή. . . .

Earlier, in the *Iph. Aul.* (833), Achilles had used non-essential enjambment:

. . . αἰδοίμεθ' ἄν
'Αγαμέμνον', εἰ ψαύοιμεν ὅν μή μοι θέμις.

Thus the concluding ἄν without enjambment of *Misoumenos* 269:

ταῦτα θαυμάσαιμι δ' ἄν.

is most remarkable, especially since it comes at the end of a speech. Among Euripides' young men, it is only paralleled by that of Orestes in the *Iph. Taur.* (98)—where there is still something of a run-on thought, and where the particle does not conclude the speech—and of Orestes in *Orestes* 554, again in the middle of a speech, and part of a very common phrase: ἔνευ δὲ πατρὸς τέκνον οὐκ εἴη ποτ' ἄν.

Menander also had good Euripidean precedent in the frequent use of the personal pronoun or adjective—often monosyllabic—ending a line. In the *Electra* (82–106) Orestes ends lines with ἐγώ, ἐμοί, ἐμοῦ, ἐμή. In the *Orestes* a series of four lines between 281–84 ends with ἐμῶν, ἐμαῖς, ἐμοί. Generally, the practice is not ostentatious, for example, in Orestes' speech at *Iph. Taur.* 939–86: . . . μοι (949), . . . μοι (965), . . . ἐμέ (984). In the *Phoenissae* (756–68), Polynices uses an alternating pattern: . . . ἐμίν (?) 756), . . . σοῦ (757), . . . ἐμαῖς (760), . . . σόν (768). Achilles in the *Iph. Aul.* (936–45) opens with ἐμή, ἐγώ, τούμον, ἐγώ, ἐγώ. The unusual parallelism and alliteration of the opening words of Orestes in the *Electra* (82–83) are characterized by the first person at the end of both lines:

Πυλάδη, σὲ γάρ δὴ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων ἐγώ
πιστὸν νομίζω καὶ φίλον ξένον τ' ἐμοί·

Though suggesting egocentricity, Euripides' usage is not, however, exaggerated enough to make comic figures of his characters.

The overly stiff parallelism of Gorgias' speech in the *Dyskolos* has little precedent in Euripides. The closest parallel is that of Orestes in the play of that name, who in one long speech begins lines: εἰ μ', εἰ μή, εἰ μήτ', εἰ γάρ (270, 272, 292, 304). Less remarkable are the closing lines of a later speech by Orestes in the same play with the endings ἔχουσιν οἱ φίλοι, ὄντες φίλοι (454–55); the ὄσαι μὲν, ὄσαι δ' of *Iph. Taur.* 968–70; or Achilles' first words in the *Iph. Aul.* (924–25): ἔστιν μὲν, ἔστιν δέ.

Though Euripides employs contrast and antithesis in speeches like those of Hippolytus at 983–1035 of that play, or of Orestes (*Electra* 367–400), or Polynices (*Phoen.* 469–96), the language is most complex, and disguises much of the parallelism. In all these speeches, the themes (war / peace; wealth / poverty; women / men; chastity / sexual indulgence) would lend themselves to simple parallelism and antithesis.

Finally, there are a number of word-plays, alliterations, and so on which even in Euripides are close to being humorous and could serve as models for Menander. Here, one could cite Orestes' opening in the *Electra* again (82–83):

Πυλάδη, σὲ γὰρ δὴ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων ἐγὼ
πιστὸν νομίζω καὶ φίλον ξένον τ' ἔμοι·

or in the *Iph. Taur.* (118–19):

. . . χωρεῖν χρεῶν
ὅποι χθονὸς κρύψαντε. . .

to depart is necessary / to where of the earth having hidden. . . .

and (687):

εὔφημα φώνει· τάμα δεῖ φέρειν κακά,
Propitious words speak. Mine—it behooves to bear—evils.

Achilles, whose language is sometimes infelicitous, employs the tongue-twisting (*Iph. Aul.* 936–37):

ἐμὴ φατισθεῖσ’· οὐ γὰρ ἐμπλέκειν πλοκὰς
ἐγὼ παρέξω σῷ πόσει τούμὸν δέμας.
once declared mine; for not to interweave intrigues / will I offer
your husband my body.

Less striking examples are Polynices' (*Phoen.* 357):

μῆτερ, φρονῶν εὖ κού φρονῶν ἀφικόμην
Mother, quite sane, and yet not sane, I have come.

and (371):

ἀλλ’ ἐκ γὰρ ἄλγους ἄλγος αὖ σὲ δέρκομαι
But out of sorrow sorrow again thee I behold.

But the prize must go to Ion's delightful (*Ion* 641–42):

ώσθ’ ἡδὺς αἰεὶ καινὸς ἐν καινοῖσιν ἦ.
δ’ δ’ εὐκτὸν ἀνθρώποισι, κἄν ἄκουσιν ἦ,

so pleasant always, a new face among new ones was I. / And what is proper
in prayer for men, even if to unwilling it be, . . .

VIII. Conclusion

In much of Greek art, the creative artist tried to express the impact of universal experiences in their finest moment, at a time when youth and beauty are in flower. Menander's basically optimistic and hopeful outlook on life represents a strain of this classicism. Moreover, in the Hellenistic mode, he observed life "through the spectacles of literature." Not surprisingly then his character individuation seems to consist of a clever manipulation of prefabricated parts. The result is an individuation at first sight resolvable into mixtures of types: the clumsy, apodeictic periodicity of Gorgias; the flexibility of Sostratos; the mixture of paratragedy, elegance and ineptness in the reflective introspection of the *Samia* Moschion; the military bombast of the spoiled *Perikeiromene* Moschion; the paratragic romance combined with aphasia of Thrasonides; the more genuinely military clumsiness and imperiousness of Polemon and Stratophanes.

Precise criteria, namely periodicity, end-stopping and hyperbaton, allow relative comparison and contrast, while minor elements such as rhyme, alliteration, and monosyllabic endings serve to delineate some characters. Though haunted by Euripides' shade, Menandrian characters preserve a remarkable degree of independence. Rarely imitating his youths in the peculiarities of their language, they at times look for inspiration toward the more pretentious divine personages of the tragedian. However, on occasion a character asserts his relationship to the Euripidean Pentheus, Achilles, Orestes or Eteocles.

It is possible though to exaggerate the stereotypic elements. Menander seems preoccupied with developing greater realism and faithfulness to life than the abstractions of severe tragedy or burlesque comedy permitted—apparently inspired by tendencies in Euripides and Aristophanes. The success of his theatre depended on this new realism. Roles on the stage are animated by the breath of fresh life, the respiration of *hypokritai* who became those they interpret. In contrast to the Roman *histriones* who later imitated them, Menander's actors lived the life of his imaginary characters, and like them thought and spoke with ease the subtle idiom of fourth century Athens. Thus his youths are no mere *personae*, but sympathetic persons who fill the center stage.

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Reconstructing the Beginning of Menander's *Adelphoi* (B)¹

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Terence's succinct statement in the prologue to *Adelphoe* (6–11) that he has borrowed (*sumpsit sibi*, 10) a scene (*locum*, 10) from a play by Diphilos and inserted it into Menander's *Adelphoi* (B) gives rise to far more questions than the few it answers.² Why has he introduced new material into Menander's play? Where exactly does the *locus* from Diphilos begin and end? Were the plots so similar that Terence could add this scene verbatim without adapting either play, or did he have to adjust the original play to harmonize with the scene from Diphilos?

The answers to the first two questions become obvious on close inspection of Terence's text. The reason he introduced a scene of comic polemic into Menander's play, which focuses on the comparison of character types, is self-evident: the scene adds physical humor to a less energetic, more "psychological" comedy.³ Since *Adelphoe* 2.2–2.4 (209 ff.) contains developments in the plot essential to the general progress of Menander's play, the borrowed material is probably limited to *Adelphoe* 2.1 (155–196).⁴ But the answer to the third question is more problematic. In the prologue Terence maintains that he has translated the scene from Diphilos *verbum de verbo* (11), but says nothing of his treatment of Menander's original. In light of the fact that he had been accused before of taking

¹ I rely largely on the work of Elaine Fantham, "Terence, Diphilus and Menander. A re-examination of Terence, *Adelphoe*, Act II," *Philologus* 112 (1968), 196–216 (henceforth, Fantham); R. H. Martin, *Terence Adelphoe* (Cambridge 1976), esp. pp. 242–45 (henceforth, Martin); and John N. Grant, "The beginning of Menander, *Adelphoi* B," *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 30 (1980), 341–55 (henceforth, Grant). Of earlier work I have found most helpful and insightful: H. Drexler, "Die Komposition von Terenz' Adelphinen und Plautus' Rudens" *Philologus Suppl.* Bd. 26.2 (1934), 1–40; and O. Rieth, *Die Kunst Menanders in den Adelphien des Terenz*, (Hildesheim 1964), edited and with a postscript by K. Gaiser.

² See Martin's introductory comments, p. 242.

³ W. G. Amott, *Menander, Plautus, Terence* (Oxford 1975), pp. 49–50.

⁴ Fantham, 200; Grant, 342. It is possible that the scene from Diphilos ends at 190 and that 190–96 is Terence's suture stitching together the two Greek authors' material. If this is the case, Aeschinus' punning reference to freeing the *psaltria* (193–94) is Terence's free creation; see H. Lloyd-Jones, "Terentian technique in the *Adelphi* and the *Eunuchus*," *Classical Quarterly* 23 (1973), 281.

unwarranted freedoms with Greek originals,⁵ his failure to affirm that he has rendered both plays "word for word" raises the possibility that he was less than absolutely literal with Menander.

Building from previous reconstructions of Menander's original sequence of action underlying Terence's *Adelphoe* 155–287 (2.1–2.4),⁶ I will propose in this article a new reconstruction of the course of action in Menander. Comparison of the new reconstruction to known Menandrian sequences of action and the reconstitution of Menander's use of the three-actor limitation⁷ will, I hope, bring us closer to the original sequence of action which Terence changed in order to incorporate the *locus* from Diphilos' *Synapoikheskontes*.⁸

I. Inconsistencies in Terence's *Adelphoe* Act II

A high number of "inconsistencies" in this sequence of action gives evidence that Terence remolded Menander's plot. These inconsistencies fall loosely into three categories: (1) those in the dialogue, (2) those in the exposition and the presentation and movements of characters, that is, the general course of the stage action (which I will call the "design of scenes"), and (3) those which make the stage action of the Greek original difficult or impossible to reconstruct from Terence's play.

1. *Inconsistencies in dialogue.* In 2. 1, the scene added from Diphilos, the young man Aeschinus threatens the pimp Sannio with court action over rights to the *psaltria*. He claims that, if Sannio refuses to sell her, he will assert her freedom in court (*nam ego liberali illam adsero causa manu*, 194). After this scene the subject of this case is never again mentioned. Aeschinus seems content to pay the girl's wholesale price (277). If the girl can be proven to be free, why does Aeschinus consent to pay at all? If she is not free, why does Aeschinus bring up the possibility of court action? This inconsistency is relatively minor, probably nothing more than a difference in the course of action the two Greek originals took, and Terence

⁵ *An.* 15 ff., *H.T.* 16 ff., *Eu.* 19 ff.

⁶ See notes 30–32.

⁷ Grant, 343 and note 5. W. G. Arnott, rev. of Rieth (note 1), *Gnomon* 37 (1965), 261, is less inclined to reconstruct the Greek author's use of the three-actor limitation from Roman adaptations; Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*² (Oxford 1968), p. 154, shows the same hesitation. But it is clear that Menander's comedies were performed by only three speaking actors and that Terence's scene 2. 4 requires four. The three-actor limitation is one guideline to a successful reconstruction.

⁸ Grant's statement of methodology for reconstruction is excellent (341): "Reconstruction starts with the gathering of clues in the Terentian play which may indicate changes from the original—inconsistencies, contradictions, awkwardness in the stage action. On individual points, however, it is often impossible to bring convincing arguments that a particular feature is Terentian or Menandrian. One works rather with a group of 'facts' and builds a reconstruction which best accounts for them all. Often more than one reconstruction is possible and the differences often depend on a decision made about one particular point which limits and directs the possible solution to other problems."

surely meant his audience to understand it as merely a young man's typical threat to a pimp.⁹

At the beginning of 2. 2 Syrus enters from Micio's house. Speaking back inside, he reassures someone, presumably Aeschinus, that he will take care of Sannio the pimp (209–10):

Tace, egomet conveniam iam ipsum: cupide accipiat faxo atque etiam
bene dicat secum esse actum.

If Syrus is addressing Aeschinus inside, why does he offer comfort and reassurance to a character who has shown great boldness in dealing with Sannio? The Aeschinus who just walked offstage has no trouble and needs no help dealing with this pimp.¹⁰ This is a graver inconsistency than the first and must be due somehow to Terence's interweaving of the two plots and his rearrangement of the original action.

2. Inconsistencies in the design of scenes: the exposition of the plot and the presentation and movements of characters. The proper exposition which Terence promises in his prologue (22–24) never fully materializes.¹¹ Micio and Demea say all they can about the background of the story, but they do not know the details of the abduction which the audience must know to understand Aeschinus' and Ctesiphon's motivations and movements prior to their first appearances on stage. The action that follows leaves several important questions unanswered.

What necessitated the abduction? What was Ctesiphon's hurry? Why could not he or Aeschinus work out a peaceful resolution with Sannio? It is tempting to suppose that the same thing which later resolves the problem is also behind the abduction: Sannio is going to Cyprus on a business trip. Was Ctesiphon's girlfriend to be sold abroad on that trip? In that case, the same situation which had earlier driven Ctesiphon to despair later saves him, for, as Sannio himself realizes, if he takes his case to court after the time required for a trip to Cyprus, the judge will demand to know why he took so long to press charges and may throw the case out of court (228–35).

Also, to what extent was Syrus involved in abducting the *psaltria*? Micio says that no one connected with the abduction has come home (26–27). Since Terence's Syrus emerges from Micio's house at 2. 2, it would follow that he was not involved with the abduction and has stayed home

⁹ W. G. Arnott (above, note 7), 257, contrasts the "freedom" and the "trip to Cyprus" motifs. Grant, 352, doubts the seriousness with which Diphilos (or Terence) meant the audience to take Aeschinus' threat to free the *psaltria* by legal action. Lloyd-Jones (above, note 4), 281, believes that this is the only major inconsistency. See note 4, above.

¹⁰ Fantham, 205.

¹¹ This, however, does not mean that Terence has made changes in Act I also. The statement of the *Vita Terentii* ("Adelphorum principium Varro etiam praefert principio Menandri") could mean that Varro preferred Terence's use of language and choice of phrasing or words and not the scenic construction, cf. Grant, 354–55: "This surely does not refer simply to the omission of a prologue at the very beginning of the play."

through the night. However, he is later called the *impulsor* of the act (315, 560) and Micio thanks him for the *consilium*, which led to the abduction (368). Syrus seems to be somehow indirectly involved in the abduction.¹²

These questions would most easily be answered in an expository monologue. Arnott proposes that Terence replaced a "less spectacular . . . monologue simply reporting the abduction" with the lively scene from Diphilos.¹³ But a monologue by whom? Only Aeschinus knows the whole story, unless Syrus accompanied him on the assault against the pimp or learned about it from him later. On the surface it is evident only that, in adding the scene from Diphilos, Terence has seriously curtailed Menander's exposition of basic background information.

Besides the lack of satisfactory exposition there are at least three more anomalies in the design of scenes in Terence's second act. First, Ctesipho's character lacks a satisfactory introduction.¹⁴ When he enters at 254, neither he nor Syrus explains his connection with the story. How is the audience, who at this point believe that Aeschinus has abducted the girl for himself, to know that Ctesipho is the real reason behind his brother's rash act? They are left to gather Ctesipho's connection to the story from his praise of his brother (254–59) and his conversations with Syrus (260–64) and Aeschinus (266–76).

Second, Sannio's presence on stage through 2. 3 and 2. 4 poses another problem but may explain why Terence did not give Ctesipho a satisfactory introduction. If Terence has brought the pimp on before Ctesipho, whereas Menander had brought Ctesipho on before the pimp, Terence cannot fully acknowledge Ctesipho's involvement in the abduction without also involving Sannio in the scene.¹⁵ Why Sannio withdraws from the conversation for 24 lines (254–77), saying only eight words in aside (265–66), while Ctesipho, Syrus, and later Aeschinus converse about matters important to him, is hard to understand. The pimp has been aggressive and

¹² Grant, 344–45, thinks it is likely that Syrus assisted with the abduction. *Adelphoe* 210–11 ("quid istuc, Sanniorum quod te audio nescioquid concertasse cum ero?") seems to rule this out, since Syrus appears to have only just heard about the abduction. Grant correctly notes that, since Syrus has no place in Diphilos' abduction scene, Terence wrote lines 210–11 to make it seem as if Syrus were not involved in the abduction (as he was in Menander) and make the transition from 2. 1 to 2. 2 smoother. But later (315, 560) Terence reverts to the original situation and allows Syrus to take credit for helping in the abduction.

In Menander Syrus could have been present at the abduction and not have met Sannio, if he stayed outside the pimp's house and never came face to face with him. In this way he would have helped Aeschinus before and after his visit to the pimp's (as the engineer [*impulsor*] of the plan [*consilium*] to abduct the *psaltria* and later as a co-conspirator in hiding her in Micio's house) but not during the actual abduction. In this way he could pretend to have learned only recently about the matter, when he confronts Sannio (so 210–11 could in fact derive from Menander's play), and play the impartial mediator between Sannio and Aeschinus; see Fantham, 205–06.

¹³ W. G. Arnott (above, note 3), p. 49.

¹⁴ Fantham, 206–07.

¹⁵ Fantham, 206–07; Grant, 349–50.

excited throughout the early scenes. His sudden passivity, when Syrus says *paullisper mane* (253), does not develop well out of his earlier action.¹⁶

Third, as Syrus prepares to leave with Aeschinus for the forum to pay off the pimp and do the shopping (277), he is twice held back. First, Sannio wants reassurance that Aeschinus will return all the money that the girl cost (278–80). Second, Ctesipho begs Syrus to resolve the problem as soon as possible so that Demea his father does not find out about the abduction (281–87). Neither conversation develops logically out of the previous action.¹⁷

Sannio should have gotten an assurance of payment from Aeschinus earlier (2. 1) or later (2. 4) in the act. Syrus does not control the household finances or hold sway over the one who does. His assurance of payment is worthless to Sannio, unless Syrus can persuade Aeschinus to persuade Micio to pay the money. The logical connections are stretched, at best. It would simply make better sense if Aeschinus told Sannio at one of their two meetings that he will convince Micio to pay for the *psaltria*.

After 280, Ctesipho's fear that his father will find out about the abduction of the girl, while true to his nervous character, is not pertinent to the drama at this point, since there is less reason for him to suspect that Demea will find out about his love for a *psaltria*, if Sannio is paid and does not linger by Micio's house. Now that Sannio is going off to the forum with Aeschinus and will soon be paid, Ctesipho's fears should be allayed, not exacerbated.

3. *Difficulties in reconstructing the stage action of the Greek original.* If we knew nothing else about Terence's reworking of this act, we could see that he had added a character to 2. 4, since there are four speaking roles on stage. Menander's scene would be highly problematical, if not impossible, to reconstruct, if we did not know there was good reason to suppose that in adding a new scene Terence rearranged the original sequence of action. All four characters (Sannio, Syrus, Aeschinus, and Ctesipho) are integral to the action. No one is clearly Terence's contribution to "thicken up" this scene. But a successful reconstruction of Menander's original design of scenes must take into account that Menander used only three actors to play all the parts.

Because act breaks affect how the actors distributed roles and give insight into the playwright's conception of divisions in the dramatic action, we should also examine the possibility of an act break in the Greek original falling in or around this sequence of action.¹⁸ The traditional divisions of

¹⁶ H. Lloyd-Jones (above, note 4), 281, warns against overreading such inconsistencies: "... it is not strange that Syrus converses with Ctesipho while Sannio is present or that Aeschinus keeps Sannio waiting while he converses with his brother. . ." Cf. Fantham, 206; Drexler (above, note 1), 24–25.

¹⁷ Fantham, 208: "The fact that in 284, Syrus has to repeat Aeschinus' orders and send Ctesipho indoors strongly suggests that there has been re-writing by Terence in this passage."

¹⁸ Grant, 354 and n. 27. Prescott, rev. of Duckworth's *Epidicus*, *Classical Philology* 36 (1941), 284, stresses that the problem of act divisions cannot be treated separately from that of distribution of roles.

acts in Terence's play do not correspond to the act breaks of the Greek original, so we must reconstruct the Greek act breaks by examining natural breaks in the plot. The best guidelines are long, offstage journeys requiring considerable time, of which there are fortunately several in this play.

In the middle of the drama, three act breaks are necessary:

- 1) Syrus goes shopping after 287 and returns at 364 (a break must fall at 287/288 or 354/355);
- 2) Demea leaves to search for Micio in the forum after 510 and returns at 537 (a break must fall at 510/511 or 516/517);
- 3) Syrus sends Demea on an intentionally misdirected tour of the city at 586, from which he returns at 713 (a break must fall at 591/592 or 712/713, or possibly 609/610).

A final break may follow these three, unless one precedes them, since the total number of act breaks must be four.

In the last act (as it is delimited traditionally) it is inconsistent that Syrus is drunk in 5. 1, but shows no sign of inebriation later in 5. 5 and 5. 9. Like Chremes' drunkenness in *Eunuchus* (4. 5) which vanishes later (5. 3), after an act break in the original, Syrus' return to sobriety makes it tempting to suppose that somewhere between 5. 1 and 5. 5 in the original there was an act break which gave Syrus time to recover his senses. A final act break after 854 not only allows Syrus time to sober up but also gives Demea a moment to rethink his philosophy of treating children sternly.¹⁹

The two first acts by Menander which have been recovered largely intact also argue for a later act break (at 854/855). *Aspis* opens with an act of 249 or more lines, containing five characters (including Tyche who speaks the prologue) and five scenes. The first act of *Dyskolos* contains 232 lines, seven characters (including Pan who speaks the prologue), and seven scenes. Clearly, Menander preferred to get the plot well under way before stopping for the first act break, and he often created suspense across act breaks by introducing but not resolving a new plot development.²⁰ The tension created by the neighbors' hearing the news of Aeschinus' abduction resembles that of Daos' overhearing Sostratos' conversation with Knemon's daughter and running for help at the first act break of *Dyskolos*. It is not therefore improbable that the first act of Menander's *Adelphoi* ran through as far as what is traditionally labelled 3. 2 (354) of Terence's adaptation, although this first act is longer than either attested: 354 (Terentian) lines (less 25 for Terence's own prologue), seven (speaking) characters, and eight scenes. The addition of the scene from *Diphilos*, the rearrangement of Menander's sequence of action and Geta's protracted abuse of Aeschinus and Syrus in his

¹⁹ Gaiser in Rieth (above, note 1) suggests that there was an act break in Menander after 854 (5.3/5.4). Cf. G. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton 1952), p. 121 and note 51.

²⁰ E.g. *Dyskolos* Act 4/5, *Dis Exapton* Act 2/3.

entrance speech (299–320) may account for some extra length in the Latin adaptation.

Terence's prologue (6–11) also supports a later act break. He states that Diphilos' scene came early in *Synapotheskontes* (*in prima fabula*, 9). If Terence knew that Menander's first act was continuous through the place where he has added the scene from Diphilos, his words may be a justification of his borrowing by an implicit claim that the new scene was added into Menander's *Adelphoi* in a place comparable to its original setting in Diphilos. He had done the same to an early scene in *Andria* with an early scene of Menander's *Perinthia*. In conclusion, I will assume that there was no act break in the sequence of action rearranged by Terence in order to incorporate the foreign scene.

A successful reconstruction of *Adelphoi* must eliminate all the inconsistencies noted above, or the reconstructor must show how any that are not removed would not seem inconsistent to Menander and cite examples of such inconsistencies in Menandrian plays. Before continuing I should discuss several guidelines which other scholars who have reconstructed this sequence of action have followed but which do not seem to me necessarily consistent with standard Menandrian practice.

Foremost of these is the assumption that Menander's design of scenes in this sequence was simple.²¹ Menandrian stage action tends to be fairly complex; that is, it often takes a roundabout way to a foregone conclusion. Any of his plays will show this. Menander circumvents the straightforward and obvious resolution of the plot often through some character trait in the central figure(s), such as Knemon's churlishness which prevents Sosistratos' direct request for the hand of his daughter (*Dyskolos*) or Moschion's timidity which prevents him from confessing to his father that he has impregnated the girl next door and necessitates a complex ploy (*Samia*). In both cases personalities complicate a situation which could be resolved quickly and happily, if the characters were simply straightforward with one another. A successful reconstruction of this sequence in the *Adelphoi* should beware of oversimplifying at least as much as overcomplicating the problem. Since Menander's action tends to illuminate character, a reconstructor should also address to some extent the way in which his reconstruction demonstrates the character traits of the central figures in these scenes, particularly Ctesipho whose fate hangs in the balance throughout the sequence.

Another assumption which I consider invalid is that the Syrus-Sannio scene in Menander was the culmination of this sequence.²² It is neither the culmination of the action nor the resolution of the whole problem, but the *turning point* of this sequence which is itself the turning point in a series of events. The abduction is the first stage in procuring the *psaltria* for Ctesipho permanently. The second stage is forcing the pimp to sell her.

²¹ Arnott (note 3), p. 49; Fantham, 210.

²² Fantham (214–15), Martin (p. 243) and Grant (354) reconstruct the Syrus-Sannio confrontation as the penultimate scene in the sequence.

The third is convincing Micio to pay for her. Aeschinus' words of encouragement (266–67) would mean little to the nervous Ctesipho, if the second and third stages were not complete. They make better sense left where they are in Terence, after Syrus forces the pimp to accept payment for her.²³ In general, this sequence should build toward and away from a *central* confrontation between Syrus and Sannio. It should show beforehand the importance of their confrontation (what hangs in the balance) and demonstrate afterward the resolution of this central problem (how the characters affected by the problem now stand).²⁴

A third invalid assumption made by some reconstructors is that Sannio's monologue in Terence (196–208) is based on his *opening* monologue in Menander.²⁵ If Terence has preserved Sannio's monologue from Menander with any fidelity, it is not likely to be an opening but a bridging monologue (one linking two scenes with Sannio) which originally followed his scene with Syrus. In this speech Sannio is a defeated man. He will accept the price of the girl at cost (202, 205). He has resigned himself to receiving no recompense for his injuries and even recalls words which Syrus has yet to say to him in Terence's version: "young men must be indulged" (206–207/214–219). This speech also reflects the final lines of his scene with Syrus in Menander's play (205/280) which Terence has displaced to the end of this sequence (see reconstruction below, p. 77). If it derives from Menander, Sannio's speech should not be his entrance monologue but should follow his capitulation to Syrus' terms (2. 2).

In order to clarify the final assumption with which I do not agree, I must address the often discussed problem of the most likely candidate for delivering the exposition of the plot in Menander's play.²⁶ An omniscient

²³ What the plot calls for and what Terence seems to have changed is the establishment of Ctesipho's fears before the Syrus-Sannio scene. Later in the play, during the only other appearance of Ctesipho on stage (4.1.–4.2), the plot follows similar lines: Ctesipho frets that Demea will find him in Micio's house (517–53) and Syrus keeps Demea from going inside by an elaborate series of lies (554–86).

²⁴ Donatus' commentary indirectly supports the assertion that Ctesipho was on stage in Menander's play before Sannio entered. In his commentary on lines 209–10, Donatus makes an uncharacteristic error. Discussing *tace* (209), he mentions that Syrus is speaking to Ctesipho(!). Ctesipho has not yet been introduced in Terence's play. Micio and Demea have mentioned that Demea has a son (46–47, 130–31, 138–39), but do not name him. Donatus' error may be an innocent, incidental confusion of Ctesipho and Aeschinus, but it may also be a confusion of the Greek and Roman plots. Fantham (205) is right that it fits the character of Ctesipho better to fret over the pimp's resistance to making the deal (*cupide accipiat faxo*, 209). If so, this is an indication that in Menander there was a scene with Ctesipho prior to Sannio's arrival and it is further evidence that the sequence should move from the establishment of Ctesipho's situation to the Syrus-Sannio scene to the resolution of Ctesipho's fears. But Lloyd-Jones (above, note 4), 280–81, warns against inferring from Donatus' mistake that Syrus must have had a dialogue with Ctesipho in the original.

²⁵ Fantham, 204–05, 209, 214–15; Martin, p. 243; Grant, 350–51, 354.

²⁶ Fantham, 211 ff.; Martin, p. 244; Grant, 352–53.

divine prologist is possible, but not necessary.²⁷ Although there is a clear lack of exposition in Terence's play, Menander does not always inform his audience of the full and true situation at the beginning of the play. In *Samia* Moschion delivers a prologue which apprises the audience of the situation at home, but they must wait until the end of Act I and the arrival of Demeas, Moschion's father, to learn that Demeas already intends to marry him to the girl he has impregnated.

If the prologue of *Adelphoi* was not delivered by a deity, the fact that only Aeschinus knows the full story of the abduction, unless Syrus assisted him at some point, argues for a Ctesiphon/Aeschinus scene early in this sequence. This has two advantages: a character who knows about the abduction narrates the story to a character who is eager to know about it, and the audience sees Aeschinus and the girl (and Syrus?) crossing the stage and entering Micio's house. It is an invalid assumption, however, that this information was brought out on the stage in Menander's play as it was in Diphilos'.²⁸ Nor is it necessary that Aeschinus deliver such information. A character who knows about the affair can relate it. Syrus would be a likely candidate, whether he actually assisted with the abduction or only met Aeschinus later at Micio's house, except that Micio in the scene before says that none of the servants who escorted Aeschinus returned to his house (26–27).

As the audience will soon discover, Micio's knowledge of what is going on under his own roof is somewhat incomplete. He is unaware why Aeschinus abducted the *psaltria*. He does not know that Aeschinus has raped the girl next door and that his adopted son is soon to be a father. He says, just before leaving for the market, that Aeschinus had recently mentioned marriage, but he does not understand that Aeschinus is thinking about the poor girl next door who will soon bear his child, and not about "cooling down his adolescent passions," as Micio thinks (150–53). If immediately after Micio's departure Syrus (or Aeschinus) were to enter from the house and explain to the audience (or Ctesiphon) that Aeschinus and he have been inside all along waiting for Micio to leave,²⁹ the audience would see that

²⁷ Amott (above, note 3), p. 52: ". . . it is too easily forgotten that even when Menander uses divine prologues, his gods are not the sole expositors, and they have remarkably little to say about future events. So long as we lack papyri of the opening scenes of Terence's Greek models, it will be wiser to compare Menandrian and Terentian expository techniques in terms of content (what—and when—the audience is actually told) rather than of form (whether or not a divine prologue is used)."

²⁸ The fact that Terence has added a scene depicting that abduction argues strongly that Menander's play lacked this sort of scene, or Terence would not have needed to look outside Menander for such a scene. He would only have had to elaborate the original, as he feels free to do at the end of *Adelphoe* (934 ff.); cf. Donatus on 938. Grant, 342, argues that the abduction in Menander's play "took place in its entirety off stage and was completed before the play began."

²⁹ Compare Chaerea's departure from Thais' house in *Eunuchus* (549), after Thais' maid has left. He, like Syrus, has waited until the coast is clear to come out. This reconstruction also makes an interesting parallel with *Aspis*, where an opening dialogue misleads the audience who

Micio labors under several delusions. The true situation would stand in sharp contrast to Micio's assertion that pampered children trust indulgent fathers (51–54) and is surely an irony intentionally designed into the plot. In conclusion, there was, no doubt, some exposition in Menander's play between Micio's departure for the market and the beginning of the next sequence, but it need not be a divine monologue (Aeschinus and Syrus know the real situation) or even a monologue (exposition can come in dialogue, cf. *Perinthia*, *Eunuchus*, *Heauton Timorumenos*). Our best guide to the correct answer is what type of exposition flows most naturally from the opening scenes into the reconstructed sequence.

II. Reconstruction of Menander's Sequence of Action

Refining the work of Drexler, Rieth, and Gaiser, Fantham³⁰ suggests that Aeschinus first entered with the girl. After a monologue he went inside Micio's house. Ctesiphon walked on stage and delivered a monologue. Syrus came outside and found Ctesiphon and informed him of the successful abduction. Then the pimp came on stage. Martin also reconstructs an early Ctesiphon-Syrus scene.³¹ Grant reconstructs an early Ctesiphon-Aeschinus scene.³²

Before proceeding we should clear up two misconceptions about the movements and motivation of Ctesiphon. There is no need for Syrus or Aeschinus to call Ctesiphon from Demea's farm to Micio's house. His natural interest in the outcome of the affair will bring him in at his first opportunity. He left the farm just after Demea and probably shadowed his father most of the way. For this reason his arrival at Micio's house follows soon after Demea's in the scene before (1. 2).

There is also no need for Ctesiphon to be told about the successful abduction. Surely in both Terence and Menander it is understood that he has found out the same way Demea did: the rumor is going around town. Ctesiphon's joy at hearing the rumor (cf. 252–53) would make a humorous

learn the real situation in the next scene from a divine prologue (since no one in *Aspis* knows the full truth, unlike in *Adelphoi*).

³⁰ Fantham, 208–11.

³¹ Martin, p. 243, reconstructs Menander's sequence with five scenes:

- 1) Ctesiphon-Syrus (=generally Terence's 2. 3)
- 2) Aeschinus-Ctesiphon, 266b–76a
- 3) Sannio, 196b–208
- 4) Syrus-Sannio (=Terence's 2. 2)
- 5) Aeschinus-Syrus-Sannio, 265–66a, 276b–87 (less 277b); then Ctesiphon joins the scene at 281.

³² Grant, 354, reconstructs Menander's sequence with four scenes:

- 1) Aeschinus-Ctesiphon-Syrus-*psaltria* (mute), 267–76a, 254–59, 262–64;
- 2) Sannio, 196–98, 200, 228–35, 202–08;
- 3) Sannio-Syrus, much of 209–51;
- 4) Aeschinus-Syrus; Terence omitted the scene completely.

contrast with Demea's earlier rage at hearing the same news (79–83). Both characters would attract such information to themselves, since both are related to Aeschinus. The only thing Ctesipho does not yet know on his arrival at Micio's house is where Aeschinus and the *psaltria* are. A meeting between Aeschinus and Ctesipho is not necessary to convey that information. Syrus could tell Ctesipho (and the audience) where Aeschinus is and exactly what happened at Sannio's the night before.

An economical (but not overly economical) use of characters and scenes prior to Sannio's entrance would be a meeting between Ctesipho and Syrus who, if he were not present, at some point had learned about the abduction from Aeschinus. There is no need for a divine prologist, since Syrus can deliver all necessary information. Terence's play does not preclude the possibility that Syrus knows about Aeschinus' impending fatherhood also. Through Syrus' exposition the Greek audience may appreciate any of the ironies to which they are accustomed.

In the light of the discussion above, I would propose the following general reconstruction of scenes in Menander's sequence of action:³³

1. Syrus/Ctesipho (? ; 254–264; ? ; 281–283; 209–210)
2. Syrus/Sannio (210–252; 278–280; 196–208)
3. Aeschinus/Sannio (265–266; ?)
4. Aeschinus/Ctesipho (266–277; 284–287)

In order to insert the scene from Diphilos Terence has displaced four subsections (underlined) of the Greek original and removed three altogether (the question marks in sections 1 and 3).

1. A short "prologue" by Syrus, providing some exposition, probably opens this sequence. Ctesipho enters (254–59) and converses with Syrus (260–64). Syrus tells Ctesipho that Aeschinus and the *psaltria* are inside the house already. Their dialogue will disclose the rest of the background information on the abduction which the audience must learn. Terence has omitted this exposition and substituted the scene from Diphilos, which demonstrates rather than relates the abduction.³⁴ Syrus and Ctesipho see Sannio coming. Ctesipho begs Syrus to chase the angry pimp away from Micio's house quickly (*quam primum* 282) before Sannio meets Demea and causes irreparable problems for Ctesipho (*ego tum perpetuo perierim*) (281–83). Syrus assures him that he can handle Sannio (209–10).

³³ The line numbers below should be taken as approximations of where Terence has spliced together pieces of Menander's play. Terence has probably combined some material translated directly from Menander, some inspired by Menander's text, and some freely invented. To what extent Terence's words reproduce Menander's at any point is a matter of speculation. I am suggesting here a reconstruction of only the general composition of the scenes and not Menander's exact wording.

³⁴ P. J. Enk, "Terence as an adapter of Greek comedies," *Mnemosyne* III 13 (1947), 84: "(Terence's added scene = 2. 1) does not relate, but demonstrates."

2. Sannio storms forward and Menander's Syrus proves his prowess in dealing with pimps much as Terence's does (210–52). Having forced Sannio to relinquish any claim of reparation for the beating, Syrus turns to go inside the house and send out Aeschinus, when the pimp calls him back and insists that he be paid at least the wholesale cost of the girl (278–80). Syrus assures him he will and goes inside. Sannio bemoans his fate but resigns himself to receiving no recompense for his beating (196–208).

3. Aeschinus comes out, having been sent by Syrus. He deals with the pimp brusquely and directly (265–66).³⁵ Terence has omitted this section, since Sannio and Aeschinus have already had a long scene together and Diphilos' portrait of the young man clashed no doubt with Menander's. After Aeschinus agrees to pay him, the pimp wastes no time leaving for the forum where he can meet Micio, finish his business quickly and set off for Cyprus. His last meeting with Aeschinus, which ended violently, and the potential for more violence from Aeschinus would motivate Sannio to beat a hasty retreat.

4. Aeschinus now addresses Ctesipho (266–77). The matter has been resolved, and Aeschinus' chastisement of Ctesipho's rash threat of suicide³⁶ rings truer at this point, where the threat that the pimp will demand the girl back and Ctesipho's worry that Demea will discover the real reason for the abduction are in fact diminished. Aeschinus urges Ctesipho to go inside and see the *psaltria* (284–287).³⁷ The sequence ends as Aeschinus, accompanied by Syrus, leaves for the market to pay off the pimp.

Terence has kept scene 4, the resolution, last in the sequence, as Menander no doubt had it. In this scene, the younger pair of brothers are compared, just as at the end of the previous sequence the older pair are (the fathers in 1. 2 and their sons in 2. 4). The conclusions of these sequences

³⁵ It is possible Terence has preserved the beginning of Menander's scene (borrowing only Aeschinus' entrance motivation 265–66), then cut directly to Menander's next scene. For another interpretation of this abrupt shift of focus, see Fantham, 207. Fantham, 209, sees an advantage in a reconstruction in which Aeschinus never deals with the pimp directly on stage. This may be overly sensitive to the presentation of a young man, who has raped and impregnated a young girl and recently committed a violent assault on an innocent man, and whose rashness and uncontrolled passions (especially for prostitutes 149), as the product of his adoptive father's leniency, are an important theme of the play. Aeschinus need not speak any longer with Sannio than to do the right thing after what was unquestionably an illegal and unprovoked assault.

³⁶ See Donatus on 275.

³⁷ Terence has given 284–86 to Syrus, where in Menander the lines probably belonged to Aeschinus. A final speech by Aeschinus reassuring Ctesipho that everything concerning the abduction is in order would make an interesting contrast with the next scene in which the audience learns almost immediately that Aeschinus will find trouble ahead because of his theft of the *psaltria*. The juxtaposition of Aeschinus' confident handling of his brother's business and the revelation of his mismanagement of his own affairs (2. 4 vs. 3. 1–2) is clearly an irony designed into the plot which gives the audience a glimpse of Aeschinus' future troubles and prepares them for the very different picture of a fearful Aeschinus they will see later in the play (4. 4–4. 5).

make an interesting contrast: the fathers argue over the correct way to raise children, by indulgence or discipline, and their sons display the results of their fathers' different philosophies. Both children are far from perfect. Aeschinus is rash, violent and prone to having his way at all costs; Ctesipho is cowardly and withdrawn, incapacitated by fear, especially of his own father (cf. 517-20). In consecutive sequences Menander demonstrates that neither philosophy brings about the intended result: indulged children do not confide in their parents and disciplined ones do not obey them.

This reconstruction eliminates all the difficulties discussed above. Ctesipho may have a satisfactory introduction, now that Sannio is not on stage. Background information may be given by a character who knows the situation and in front of no one who may not hear it. Ctesipho's final words in this sequence (281-87) which do not develop well from the situation on stage make better sense if we understand they have been displaced from the opening scene of this sequence, when Sannio's persistent presence at Micio's house might alert Demea to Ctesipho's true situation. Syrus' opening words spoken back inside to Aeschinus (?) also make more sense if they were spoken to Ctesipho as Syrus prepared to meet Sannio advancing. The *tace* (209) which Donatus mistakenly claims Syrus says to Ctesipho would indeed be Syrus' response to Ctesipho's plea that he get rid of the pimp (281-83). Also, in this reconstruction Sannio does not have to remain on stage silently, while matters of utmost importance to him are discussed and arranged, and Syrus is not held back to discuss matters which he cannot resolve and which should have been resolved already.

This sequence, the resolution of Ctesipho's affair, is balanced against a later sequence of the play, the resolution of Aeschinus' affair.³⁸ Because of the rumor that has spread after the abduction, Aeschinus' own troubles come to light and he is forced to confess his transgressions to Micio. The manner in which Menander designed this sequence is parallel to the earlier sequence as reconstructed above:

CTESIPHO'S AFFAIR

1. Syrus/Ctesipho
2. Syrus/Sannio
3. Aeschinus/Sannio
4. Aeschinus/Ctesipho

AESCHINUS' AFFAIR

1. Syrus/Ctesipho (517-539)
2. Syrus/Demea (540-591)
3. Micio/Hegio (592-609)
4. Micio/Aeschinus (610-712)

1. Ctesipho is anxious about his problems.
2. Syrus fends an intruder from the house.
3. An older relative rescues one of the younger brothers from potentially disastrous problems associated with a love affair.
4. The rescuer chastises the rescued.

³⁸ Martin, p. 245, points out the balance between the love affairs of Ctesipho and Aeschinus: "But all will be well, for the misunderstanding over Aeschinus' relationship to Bacchis will be the means of bringing about his marriage to Pamphila."

Both sequences begin with a dialogue between Ctesipho and Syrus. In the later sequence (the resolution of Aeschinus' affair) Ctesipho frets over the imminent arrival of Demea (517–53). If 281–83 of Terence's adaptation represents a piece of the dialogue in scene 1 of Menander's sequence, Ctesipho in the earlier sequence also worries about Demea's possible interruption of the action. Also, in these parallel scenes Syrus boasts of his ability to handle difficult characters (209–210/534–537). In scene 2 of each sequence Syrus successfully defends the doors of the house against a hostile intruder, Sannio and Demea, respectively. Each scene involves a beating. In the earlier, Sannio complains of his mistreatment at the hands of Aeschinus; in the later, Syrus complains to Demea of a fictitious beating at Ctesipho's hands (211–215 [and 244–245] /554–567).

Scene 3 of each sequence resolves in short order the central problem: in the earlier sequence Aeschinus promises to pay Sannio, the scene which Terence removed since it repeated the confrontation borrowed from Diphilos; in the later Micio clears the way for Aeschinus to marry the girl next door, Hegio's niece (265–266/592–609).³⁹ Both sequences end with the confrontation of the child in trouble and the older family member who has saved him from disaster. In both scenes 4 the older relative gently scolds his younger relation for not seeking help earlier: Aeschinus reprimands Ctesipho for not coming to him with his problem sooner; Micio plays an unkind trick on Aeschinus (he tells him that the girl next door, the mother of his child, is going to have to marry another man), forces a confession from Aeschinus and chastises him for ungentlemanly behavior and not seeking his (adoptive) father's aid earlier (271–276/639–695).⁴⁰ The closeness of the two sequences, which resolve parallel problems in the plot, the younger brothers' love affairs, argues for the correctness of this reconstruction of the earlier sequence.⁴¹

As a final test of the validity of this reconstruction, could Menander's limited number of actors have performed this sequence? If Ctesipho and Syrus begin the sequence and Ctesipho and Aeschinus end it, where is Ctesipho during the middle scenes, 2 (Syrus/Sannio) and 3 (Aeschinus/Sannio)? With three different actors playing the three roles in these middle scenes (Syrus, Sannio, and Aeschinus), the actor who plays Ctesipho must exit to take one of those parts. But the same actor can play Syrus and Aeschinus, since Sannio's bridging monologue allows an actor offstage the time to change mask and costume. If Syrus and Aeschinus are played by the same actor, the actor who plays Ctesipho need not leave the

³⁹ See Donatus on 351.

⁴⁰ W. E. Forehand, "Syrus' role in Terence's *Adelphoe*," *Classical Journal* 69 (1973), 53: "Aeschinus' scolding appears distinctly ironic when one considers how he has allowed his own problems to go unsolved for fear of facing his father."

⁴¹ Also, these sequences are bordered by confrontations between Micio and Demea (81–154/719–762).

stage at all. The following schema shows a possible distribution of roles in this sequence.

<i>Scene</i>	<i>Actor 1</i>	<i>Actor 2</i>	<i>Actor 3</i>	<i>Mutes</i>
1			Syrus ⁴²	
1		Ctesipho	Syrus	
2	Sannio	(Ctesipho)	Syrus	
2	Sannio	(Ctesipho)		
3	Sannio	(Ctesipho)	Aeschinus	(Syrus) ⁴³
4		Ctesipho	Aeschinus	(Syrus)

Ctesipho remains on stage but withdraws from the action through the middle scenes of this sequence. The pimp presumably does not know him, since Aeschinus has abducted the girl.⁴⁴ Ctesipho's silent presence casts a strange shadow over the drama. Every turn in the dialogue as Syrus and Aeschinus wrangle with Sannio would affect him deeply and add a tragic note to their comic haggling. His silence, contrasted with his great concern for a quick and happy resolution, would demonstrate the cowardice which his strict father has driven into him. As he does again later (538–53), he hovers in the background, too frightened to advance or retreat, and if he speaks at all, whispers panic-stricken pleas to Syrus or nervous asides to the audience.

Ctesipho is certainly not the only cowardly character Menander created. Thraso, the inept soldier of *Kolax* whom Terence has probably substituted for another soldier in *Eunuchus*,⁴⁵ is another memorable coward. The final sequence of *Eunuchus*, in which Thraso capitulates completely to others'

⁴² Presumably the two principal actors will play Micio and Demea in the previous scene, so if Syrus comes on stage directly after them, as I suggest, the third actor must play Syrus. Since Sannio has a larger part in the dialogue, I give his role to the first actor, and the role of Ctesipho to the second actor. This assignment is not conclusive.

⁴³ Since Terence's Syrus does not play a crucial role in the drama from Aeschinus' second entrance (265) to his departure for the market (277), it is likely that Syrus was played by a mute in scenes 3(?) and 4 of Menander's sequence. Also, if Syrus is a speaking role at the end of the sequence and the actor who plays Aeschinus has earlier played Syrus, as I suggest, it would be necessary for different actors to share Syrus' role in the same sequence, which seems unlikely.

⁴⁴ Grant, 349–50, plausibly reconstructs this part of the prehistory: Sannio (like Ballio in *Pseudolus*) has only recently acquired the *psaltria*, so he does not know Ctesipho and Ctesipho has only recently come to know him.

⁴⁵ Terence has certainly added Gnatho to the final sequence of *Eunuchus*. Whether or not he added Thraso also is harder to say (see W. Ludwig, "Von Terenz zu Menander," *Philologus* 103 [1959], 36–38; Gomme and Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* [Oxford 1973], pp. 420–21; Lloyd-Jones [above, note 4], 283–84; and K. Gilmartin, "The Thraso-Gnatho subplot in Terence's *Eunuchus*," *Classical World* 69 [1975–76], 263–67). For our purposes it does not matter whether he rewrote the ending or transferred it with only minor alterations from Menander. The "Ctesipho" sequence of *Adelphoi*, as reconstructed here, is remarkably similar to the final sequence of Terence's *Eunuchus*, and for that reason Terence has altered Menander's sequence of action.

wishes, bears a close resemblance to this reconstruction of the *Adelphoi* sequence:⁴⁶

<i>Eunuchus</i> (1025–1094)		<i>Adelphoi</i> (155–287)
Thraso (Parmeno)	Coward enters	Ctesipho/Syrus
Chaerea/Parmeno (Thraso)	Coward withdraws from the stage action	Sannio/Syrus (Ctesipho)
Chaerea (Thraso)	Coward remains silent through an opportunity for dialogue	Sannio (Ctesipho)
Chaerea/Phaedria (Thraso)	Coward still refuses to join the action	Sannio/Aeschinus (Ctesipho)
Thraso/Chaerea/Phaedria	Coward finally comes forward	Ctesipho/Aeschinus

In both plays, after the coward enters in the first scene, the characters in the second and third scenes do not acknowledge him. His presence adds another dimension to the stage action without necessarily adding a word to the text. In *Adelphoi* the audience watches Syrus' and Aeschinus' dealings with Sannio through Ctesipho's eyes whose love affair and life hang on Syrus' success; in *Eunuchus* they watch the happy outcome of the young men's love affairs through the eyes of a rival whose misery counterbalances their joy. The management of the cowards' actions in these sequences is so similar, although the resolution of their fates is quite different, that these scenes seem to be Menandrian variations on a theme.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ For the comparison of two similar sequences in Menander, see W. Goerler, "Menander, Dyskolos 233–381 und Terenz, Eunuchus 817–922," *Philologus* 105 (1961) 299–307.

⁴⁷ This parallel argues, I believe, that Terence's changes in the end of Menander's *Eunouchos* are relatively minor (the addition of Gnatho presumably displacing Chaerea as the mediator between Thraso and Phaedria). Terence's general plot development in this sequence is likely to be the same as Menander's. Besides the similar management of the coward, the use of the three actors is remarkably similar: one actor plays the coward throughout the sequence, (Ctesipho/Thraso), another dominates the central scenes and delivers the bridging monologue (Sannio/Chaerea), and the third first plays a helpful slave (Syrus/Parmeno) and then his master's son (Aeschinus/Phaedria), changing roles during the bridging monologue. The differences between the sequences (Chaerea is involved in the last scene of the sequence, whereas Sannio leaves before the last scene; the coward is a negative figure in *Eunuchus*, whereas he is positive in *Adelphoi*) arise from the different requirements of the plots, not the handling of the stage action in the sequences. The excellent way in which both sequences integrate character and action (or here, inaction) and the similarity of their design of scenes argue strongly that the sequences derive from one mind, skilled at writing action which develops naturally from the situation and the characters. All the evidence points to Menander; see Gomme and Sandbach (above, note 45), p. 27.

The similarity of these sequences may have contributed to Terence's decision to rewrite this sequence of *Adelphoi*. Only a year after he produced an adaptation of Menander's *Eunouchos*, it may have occurred to Terence that he should not repeat a sequence so close in structure to one crowning a recent success. While exploring the possibilities, Terence saw that a scene from Diphilos' *Synapothneskontes* which Plautus had fortuitously not used in his *Commorientes* would fit into *Adelphoi* (with minor alterations) and add some vigor to the action. This would not be the first time Terence had noticed a close resemblance between sequences in Menander's comedies (*An.* 10–12). So, as he had done before, he borrowed a scene from one comedy and inserted it into another, but with two important differences between this and his previous borrowings: in *Adelphoe* Terence splices together the work of different authors,⁴⁸ and his motivation is not just to "improve the Greek original" but to add variety to his own dramatic corpus. It is this attention to the independent Roman tradition of New Comedy which raises Terence's drama above mere imitation of Greek originals.

III. Conclusion: Terence's Changes

If this reconstruction is correct, how has Terence changed the original sequence of action? We should note first that he has not altered it radically. The unfolding of the plot (and to some extent the design of scenes also) remains in basically the same order. Aeschinus has rescued the girl and brought her home. With Syrus' help, he deals with the angry pimp and arranges to purchase the girl. Then he comforts his brother with the news of the happy outcome. Finally he and Syrus leave for the market to settle the deal. Terence has left the Syrus-Sannio scene second in the sequence and the Aeschinus-Ctesipho scene fourth.

The inclusion of the scene from Diphilos, however, precluded Menander's confrontation between Aeschinus and the pimp. In Menander this scene is likely to have come third in the sequence. By bringing Aeschinus on stage before Ctesipho, Terence has in effect exchanged the brothers' scenes (1 and 3). That is the fundamental difference between the Greek and Roman sequences. This shift of focus enhances the comic element in this sequence but distorts the presentation of Ctesipho's character. His long silence on stage in Menander demonstrates his timidity and Demea's ferocity. But it is not at all the same thing when Terence keeps Sannio silent on stage for two scenes. At best, we can say that his prior experience with Aeschinus motivates his fear of involvement in the stage action. But he is not a coward like Ctesipho, since he was not afraid to speak up in front of Aeschinus earlier in the same sequence, even when he was beaten for his protests. Terence's exchange of the brothers' scenes is quite effective in focusing attention on Aeschinus, the more interesting of the pair, but his exchange of silent characters is less felicitous, since his

⁴⁸ Fantham, 196.

Sannio remains silent on stage because the plot demands it, whereas Menander's Ctesipho is silent because the nature of his character demands it.

From this reconstruction of the Greek original it is not hard to reconstruct also Terence's reasons for displacing four pieces of dialogue (196–208, 254–64, 278–80, 281–83) from their original situations in Menander's sequence.⁴⁹ He has not really displaced 197–208, Sannio's monologue. He has left it between Sannio's two scenes, as Menander had it, but since he has brought Sannio on earlier than Menander had, he has moved the monologue up as well. His displacement of 254–64, the Ctesipho-Syrus scene, later in the sequence is part of his general exchange of the brothers' scenes (1 and 3). He has displaced 278–80 to the end of the sequence to serve as Sannio's exit line, so that the pimp does not have to leave the stage without saying anything after Terence has kept him on for so long "thickening up" the stage. At the end of the sequence Terence adds, almost as an afterthought, 281–83, which was in Menander a central feature of Ctesipho's character, his fear of his father. Menander probably established this motivation when Ctesipho first entered in scene 1 of the sequence, but Terence, who is less interested in the psychology of this character, includes it mostly as a bridge to Ctesipho's next appearance (4. 1), where his fear of Demea is central to the scene.⁵⁰

In conclusion, what is important in this study is not the reconstruction itself but the methodology used in reconstructing the original. In attempting to recover Menander's lost design of scenes, we must attend to Menander's style of constructing a sequence of action. This article outlines only one of several possible ways to reconstruct a lost sequence of action, but it moves us one step nearer to the original by following closely Menander's style of organizing dramatic action. I do not claim to have resolved a problem which only the recovery of Menander's original can settle, but this investigation opens a door for further debate on a methodological basis which, I hope, will prove profitable not only in recovering lost sequences of action but for wider analysis of Menandrian dramaturgy.⁵¹

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⁴⁹ See reconstruction on p. 77.

⁵⁰ Grant, 349. Terence's 284–87 are probably in their original situation in Menander's sequence, but Terence had given 284–86 to Syrus (as a natural extension of Syrus' and Ctesipho's dialogue), where Menander gave them to Aeschinus (see note 37). Terence would have had to add only Syrus' reference to shopping (286), if he drew the speech from Aeschinus' final words to Ctesipho.

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Polybadiscus and the *Astraba* of Plautus: New Observations on a Plautine Fragment

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Aulus Gellius (3. 3. 11) reports that at one time 130 comedies were attributed to Plautus; of these 20 now remain in fairly complete condition and one, the *Vidularia*, is only partially preserved. Another 32 plays ascribed to Plautus are represented in fragments, and in addition there are 66 fragments from plays unidentified, seven of them dubiously attributed to Plautus; the titles of three other comedies are also known.¹ The fragments of Plautine comedy, which represent the majority of work ascribed to him, were once regarded as having some importance for the understanding of Roman comedy, but have been virtually ignored by scholars in the twentieth century; indeed they have scarcely even made their way into standard handbooks such as George Duckworth's *The Nature of Roman Comedy* and William Beare's *The Roman Stage*, and so have been rendered all but invisible. And yet, when one considers what a small percentage of comedies has survived—Plautus' 21 and Terence's 6—and that the vast majority of Roman comedians are represented only in quotations, it becomes clear that there is still a fair amount of work to be done.² Fortunately, several areas of Plautine comedy are reasonably well defined by the consistency of phenomena in the surviving plays and these can help us isolate and come to terms with similar elements in the fragments. One of these is Plautus' use of names that quite frequently indicate the nature of their bearers and their situations within the drama.³ It is my contention that the first of the seven

¹ Plays for which only titles exist are *Anus*, *Bis Compressa*, and *Syrus*. See F. Winter, *Plauti Fabularum Deperditarum Fragmenta* (Bonn 1885), 23, 27, 47. These plays are not noted in Lindsay's edition.

² In Plautus' case, therefore, only about 16 percent of the work attributed to him in antiquity is known to us in any state of completion.

³ See C. J. Mendelsohn, *Studies in the Word-Play in Plautus* (Philadelphia 1907); W. M. Seaman, *The Appropriate Name in Plautus* (diss. Illinois 1939); R. K. Ehman, "The Double Significance of Two Plautine Names," *American Journal of Philology* 105.3 (Fall, 1984), 330–32.

fragments of the *Astraba*, a comedy ascribed to Plautus in antiquity,⁴ contains such use of a name. My immediate purpose is to re-examine this fragment, which has not been discussed for almost 85 years,⁵ for despite its brevity it is unusually informative on a number of matters of plot and character, thanks largely to its named *persona*; it can also be reasonably well meshed, I believe, with a couple of other fragments from the piece, and lends itself quite readily to plausible interpretation. Indeed, this will be the first time such a literary study has been done to the extent presented here. My larger goal is to show that the fragments of Plautus have life in them yet and still offer a fruitful field of investigation.

Varro (*De Lingua Latina* 6. 73) cites two lines from the *Astraba* in his discussion of the derivation of *spes*:

etiam spes a sponte potest esse declinata, quod tum sperat cum quod volt
fieri putat: nam quod non volt si putat, metuit, non sperat. itaque hi
quoque qui dicunt in Astraba Plauti:

sequere adsecue, Polybadisce, meam spem cupio consequi.
sequor hercle equidem: nam lubenter meam speratam consequor.

quod sine sponte dicunt, vere neque ille sperat qui dicit adolescens neque illa
sperata est.

It is particularly fortunate that Varro has preserved a name in this quotation; in the present case its reading was established by Scaliger from the *polyba disce* of the manuscripts, was sanctioned by Ritschl and generally accepted

⁴ Varro attributes the *Astraba* to Plautus twice: *De Lingua Latina* 6. 73 and 7. 66, in the latter without naming the poet but in the midst of quotations also ascribed to Plautus. Probus, or at least the author of the commentary on Vergil's *Bucolics* that has survived under his name (2. 23 Keil), discussed the word *astraba* and noted "quo titulo et Plautus fabulam inscrisit" (see Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* I, § 35; cf. F. Ritschl, "Deperditorum Plauti Fabularum Fragmenta," *Opuscula Philologica* III (Leipzig 1877, repr. Hildesheim 1978), p. 187, and G. Goetz, *De Astrabae Plautinae Fragmentis* (Jena 1893), p. 2. Gellius (11. 7. 5) indicates an indeterminable degree of uncertainty on the question of the play's authenticity when he records "idque a Plauto in comoedia, si ea Plauti est, quae Astraba inscripta est . . .," but does not indicate the grounds for any doubt nor the seriousness of it; nor does he allude to the issue at 3. 3. 1–14, the discussion of Plautine scholarship: see Goetz, p. 5, and Winter, pp. 4 ff. The same lack of clarity is discovered in Nonius' statement at 69. 32, "Plautus in Astraba fabula . . . cuius incertum an sit ea comoedia," but, again, there is no way of knowing the degree of Nonius' uncertainty. However, at 62. 32 Nonius ascribes the play to Plautus with no qualifying remark (see note 20, below). At any rate, no substantial reason can be adduced to show that the *Astraba* was not the work of Plautus. For a full discussion of the authenticity of this and other fragmentary plays ascribed to Plautus, see E. H. Clift, *Latin Pseudepigrapha: A Study in Literary Attributions* (Baltimore 1945), pp. 40–78.

⁵ The last word on the *Astraba*, from a strictly literary standpoint, was spoken by K. Schmidt, "Die griechischen Personennamen bei Plautus II," *Hermes* 37 (1902), 389–90. Other works were by Ritschl, Winter, Goetz and Clift, *opp. cit.*, but these scholars were interested in examining the sources and background of the fragments rather than investigating in any detail the literary motifs or characterizations detectible in the *Astraba* except in the most sweeping way; some of the conjectures of Ritschl need to be called into question.

thereafter.⁶ However, K. Schmidt, who was the last to have spoken on the *Astraba*, objected to "Polybadiscus" on the grounds that the joining of πολύ and βαδίζω was "unwahrscheinlich." He proposed reading "Libadiscus," from λιβάδιον, "little stream," and read "sequere adsecue intro, Libadisce, meam spem cupio consequi." His justification was that "Damit rückt Λιβάδισκος also unmittelbar mit Σταλαγμός zusammen," referring to the slave in the *Captivi* who had abducted Tyndarus as a small boy. He noted also that there is a Λιβάς at Ovid, *Amores* 3. 7. 24; "Libadiscus" was therefore a more likely name on linguistic grounds than "Polybadiscus." Still, it must be asked whether this reading is an improvement and whether Schmidt was in fact justified in regarding Scaliger's correction as unlikely. His challenge to "Polybadiscus" has never been answered. The response will surely lead to a fuller comprehension of the fragment.

First, "Polybadiscus" is obviously acceptable paleographically. Second, it must be remembered that the *Astraba* was generally taken in antiquity to be the work of Plautus,⁷ and as A. S. Gratwick has recently remarked on the characters of Plautine comedy, "his stage-population are given individual names varying in formation from the possible but unattested (Agorastocles) to the absurd (Pyrgopolynices)."⁸ When coming to terms with a name coined by Plautus, and "Polybadiscus" clearly is an invented name,⁹ the main concern is not so much with linguistic possibility or occurrence as a real name, as Gratwick's and other studies have demonstrated, but rather with its significance as an indicator, either ironic or accurate, of the nature of the *persona* to which it is attached or to his circumstances in the context of the comedy. For example, to use one of the names cited by Gratwick, "Pyrgopolynices," "frequent conqueror of towers," or "conqueror of many towers," although an absurd name, perhaps concocted from "pyrgos" + "polynices," is clearly a suitable appellation for the *miles gloriosus*; likewise "Pseudolus," "the crafty liar" (*pseudos* + *dolus*) is an accurate name for that deceitful slave. Now, the person addressed in the first line of the fragment and who responds in the second is a slave, as has long been recognized, since in Plautus the suffix -ISCUS or -ISCA always denotes a character of that station.¹⁰ However, the single most important

⁶ Ritschl, pp. 188 ff., and "Quaestiones onomatologicae comicae," *ibid.*, p. 328.

⁷ See note 4, above.

⁸ A. S. Gratwick, "Light Drama: Plautus," in E. J. Kenney (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature II: Latin Literature* (Cambridge 1982), p. 104. See note 3, above.

⁹ See W. Pape, and G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Hildesheim 1959), s. v. Πολυβάδισκος.

¹⁰ For example, Ampelisca (*Rudens*), Collybiscus (*Poenulus*), Pardalisca (*Casina*), Phaniscus (*Mostellaria*), Sophoclidisca (*Persa*); cf. Syriscus in Menander's *Epitrepones* and in Terence's *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe*. See A. W. Gomme and F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* (Oxford 1973), pp. 310 ff. Sometimes, although there is no evidence that this is the case here, -ISCUS is added to a slave's name to form a diminutive; thus Lampadio is called Lampadiscus at *Cistellaria* 544, and at *Poenulus* 421 Milphio is called Milphidiscus. Ritschl (pp. 190 ff.) argues against the slave's name being Polybadio on the grounds that such a name is unattested;

consideration for the reading of the name, after the paleographical, has yet to be taken into account so far as I am aware, namely that "Polybadiscus" is a perfectly suitable *sprechender Name* for the context preserved in Varro's quotation. The name means "the slave who walks much" which is *exactly* what this character claims to be. After the speaker of the first line, an *adulescens* according to Varro,¹¹ commands him, "Follow, follow closely, Polybadiscus," the slave replies emphatically, "Good God! I am following!" The particle *evidem* and the expletive *hercle* placed next to *sequor*, along with the fact that there are also three cognates of *sequor* in two lines, make it quite certain that the slave really does walk a lot and that "Polybadiscus" is the appropriate reading here. To be sure, the suitably named slave is found in other comedies, such as *Pseudolus*, noted above, or *Phaniscus* who "reveals" the truth to *Theopropides* at *Mostellaria* 933 ff. "Libadiscus," on the other hand, has neither the paleographical nor the interpretative value of Scaliger's reconstruction, for while "much walking" fits the picture presented in the fragment, the idea of a stream has no apparent relevance. Moreover, the argument in favor of "Libadiscus" is further vitiated by the suggested connection with "Stalagmus." The latter name according to Anaxandrides (*Odysseus* 34K) is given in jest to a small person:¹²

ἥμεῖς γὰρ ἀλλήλους ἀεὶ χλευάζετ', οἵδ' ἀκριβῶς·
ἄν μὲν γὰρ ή τις εὐπρεπής, ιερὸν γάμον καλεῖτε·
έὰν δὲ μικρὸν παντελῶς ἀνθρώπιον, σταλαγμόν.

Since there is no evidence in the fragments as to the slave's physical appearance, as at *Asinaria* 400 ff. and *Pseudolus* 1218 ff., there is no valid reason to accept "Libadiscus" on this score.

It is also possible to determine more about the character of the slave since Polybadiscus plainly exhibits another interesting, if rare, feature which offers a clue to the nature of the *Astraba*. Polybadiscus is in love, as is shown by his use of *sperata*. Varro's final remarks on the quotation confirm this conclusion, and although Polybadiscus' status as a loving slave has been briefly noted by others,¹³ the matter has yet to be treated as a literary device. Varro has judged that, strictly speaking, neither does the speaker of the first line truly "hope" because he speaks *sine sponte*, nor is the woman referred to in the second line truly "hoped for" because, again, the idea of speaking *sine sponte* lurks behind *speratam*. As with the earlier question on

but neither is Polybadiscus attested. Either would be a comic formation; see notes 3 and 6, above.

¹¹ Some earlier commentators, despite Varro's remarks, believed that this character was Polybadiscus' beloved. See Ritschl, pp. 189 ff. and note 18, below.

¹² See Schmidt I, 207 f., Mendelsohn, p. 57, Seaman, p. 109.

¹³ Ritschl, pp. 189 ff., established the reading *meam speratam* from the *mea sperata* of the manuscripts. He briefly notes in passing the idea of love suggested by Varro and also some parallels for this use of *sperata* but does not discuss the question.

the correct reading and significance of the slave's name, so this remark of Varro also demands careful consideration. First, Varro does not categorically state that *spes* and its cognates are in fact derived from *spons** ("spes a sponte potest esse declinata") and, second, he also acknowledges that the two characters in the *Astraba* are not using *spes* and *spero* in a technically or, possibly, etymologically correct way.¹⁴ Therefore what emerges is that both speakers "desire" but are unsure of their chances of success, so that it would be more correct for them to say that they "fear they will not succeed" rather than that they "hope." Nevertheless, Varro's point is that by *spem* and *speratam* Plautus intends to connote someone or something desired regardless of the degree of success that the speakers achieve.

Unfortunately it is impossible to know what specifically the *adulescens'* *spes* is since the word has so many different implications in Plautine comedy, although the similarity in wording between the two lines makes it probable that *spes* and *sperata* are somehow interconnected in the plot.¹⁵ At any rate, whatever his hope may have been, whether a person (the young man's girlfriend was Ritschl's conjecture), an opportunity or a goal, the chance of realizing it is fleeting and thus the tone of the speaker is urgent. *Sperata*, on the other hand, specifically refers to a woman, and the use of the term to designate the beloved one hopes for has parallels in the surviving comedies.¹⁶ For example, at *Amphitruo* 676 Amphitryon addresses his wife, "uxorem salutat laetus speratam suam" and at *Poenulus* 1268 Anterastilis calls Agorastocles *sperate*.¹⁷

Slaves in love are found on occasion in the surviving comedies, most notably Toxilus of the *Persa*. There the smitten slave explains his condition to Sagaristio (24 ff.):

saucius factus sum in Veneris proelio;
sagitta Cupido cor meum transfixit. SAG. iam servi hic amant?

And in fact the whole intrigue of the *Persa* centers upon Toxilus' acquisition of money to buy his beloved. As another instance, at *Rudens* 415 ff., Scoparnio falls in love (or rather, lust) with Ampelisca, the maid of Palaestra, and tries to win her favor. Polybadiscus therefore is by no means

¹⁴ Goetz, 6, would add to Varro's remarks, "sed potest etiam sine sponte dicere 'spero', si iocandi causa hoc dicit."

¹⁵ Ritschl, pp. 189 ff., again with only scanty discussion, conjectured that *spes* stood for the *amata* of the young man. This naturally is possible but not necessarily the case here. It is true of course that *adulescentes* have girlfriends, but we do not know that *spes* here refers to a person as at *Stichus* 583 (see note 16, below) rather than some abstract desire or practical goal such as fleecing a *senex* or dealing with a *leno*.

¹⁶ Ritschl, p. 190; he adduces as a parallel *Stichus* 583, "sperate Pamphilippe, o spes mea," but this is not a true parallel because there the parasite Gelasimus is addressing a long absent patron on his return rather than someone he loves.

¹⁷ In addition Nonius 175. 1 equates, as did Varro, *speratum* with *sponsum* and quotes from Afranius' *Fratriae* (10 Ribbeck), "speratam non odi tuam." Again the idea of love is present.

unique as a comic slave with his eye on a girl.¹⁸ There is no other evidence to indicate how serious Polybadiscus' love is, whether real love like Tranio's or an infatuation like Sceparnio's. However, as the examples noted show, *sperata* usually of course implies a situation more enduring than Sceparnio's lust at first sight. On the other hand, the comic potential of a *sperata* as a recent acquaintance cannot be discounted.

I would like to conclude with a final new observation on Polybadiscus; I suggest that he is a *servus callidus*. The *adulescens* calls upon him to follow because, as he says, he wishes to pursue his hope (whatever that may be), clearly indicating thereby his reliance on the slave's assistance.¹⁹ This action naturally calls to mind one of the most common motifs in comedy, namely that the young man puts his confidence in the slave who in turn must be clever enough to pull his master through his dilemma. Such an identification is attractive for another reason, because if Polybadiscus is in fact the *servus callidus*, as the urgent commands given him make probable, then the fourth fragment, "terebratus multum sit et supscudes addite," certainly could have been directed at him, for the fragment surely denotes a punishment of a slave, as Ritschl surmised largely on the basis of Nonius' definition of *exterebrare*.²⁰ In comedy the slave is the only type ever punished physically, and the clever slave naturally was especially liable to horrible tortures, or at least the threat of them, as Pseudolus, Chrysalus in the *Bacchides*, or Tyndarus in the *Captivi* had reason to know.²¹ Likewise, if this is a correct assumption, then the fifth fragment, "terebra tu quidem pertundis," also refers to the inquisition or punishment of Polybadiscus, and in fact both fragments are strikingly similar to the threat of punishment made at *Mostellaria* 55 ff. to Tranio, the mover of the comedy's intrigue:²²

o carnuficium cribrum, quod credo fore,
ita te forabunt patibulatum per vias
stimulis, * si huc reveniat senex.

¹⁸ Ritschl thinks it likely that *sperata* is the maid of the *spes*, that is the maid of the *adulescens'* girlfriend. On the one hand, this is a possibility and is paralleled by the situation already noted from the *Rudens* and also by the carousal of Stichus with the maid Stephanium at the end of the *Stichus* (742 ff.). On the other hand, this conjecture assumes that *spes* is a person and we have seen that there is no evidence for such an identification.

¹⁹ Ritschl, pp. 189 ff., is surely correct in assuming that the young man is Polybadiscus' master.

²⁰ Ritschl, p. 194; Nonius 62. 32, "exterebrare est vi aliiquid extorquere et scrutari aut curiosius quacrerere. Plautus in Astraba, cum in curiosum iocaretur." Ritschl did not single out Polybadiscus as the *servus callidus* nor as the slave punished in these fragments.

²¹ See Duckworth, pp. 288 ff., for an enumeration of the punishments, threatened or actually inflicted, of slaves in comedy.

²² Ritschl in his 1852 edition of the *Mostellaria* in fact read "terebris huc si"; the same type of punishment is depicted here. Cf. *Persa* 28, "vide modo ulmeae catapultae tuom ne transfigant latus" and *Mostellaria* 358, "ubi . . . denis hastis corpus transfigi solet." The threat *fodere stimulo* (*stimulis*) occurs at *Curculio* 131 and *Menaechmi* 951.

The first fragment of the *Astraba* with its division of speakers, inclusion of a *sprechender Name* and clearly defined actions, is the most tractable of this comedy's remains. Indeed, it seems to shed light on the two fragments that refer to punishment. Fortunately, parallels from the surviving comedies support the conclusions presented here.

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The Weapons of Love and War: A Note on Propertius IV.3¹

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Propertius' Arethusa poem is a masterpiece of wit and irony. It is full of pathetic hyperbole: the girl suggests that her tears might wash away the letters (3–4), that a trailing scrawl might depict her death (or loss of consciousness) as she writes (5–6). Her husband, meanwhile, has travelled to the ends of the earth: Parthia, China, Thrace, Arabia and Britain—quite an accomplishment for a veteran of four years' service (7–10)! Furthermore, she envisions Lycotas not as a soldier like the *robustus puer* of Hor., *Odes* III. 2 but as too delicate to hold a weapon or to wear a breastplate. In lines 23–24 we meet a curiously soft-skinned fighter:

dic mihi, num teneros urit lorica lacertos?
num gravis imbellis atterit hasta manus?

One expects that the man will fear for the woman's safety, as does Gallus in Verg., *Ecl.* 10. 46–49:

tu procul a patria (nec sit mihi credere tantum)
Alpinas, a! dura nives et frigora Rheni
me sine sola vides. a, te ne frigora laedant!
a, tibi ne teneras glacies seget aspera plantas!

The wonderful irony is that here the girl fears for the delicacy of the man. Finally, whereas Arethusa disclaims her elegant Punic crimson (51), she is making a Tyrian red cloak for Lycotas (34).

It is clear that Propertius has used a light and playful touch, but one must also recognize that a major portion of the poem's humor comes from Arethusa's atypical attitudes towards her husband. Margaret Hubbard writes that the poet has created "one of the few portraits antiquity offers of a good and beautiful noodle, loving, tender, and not in the least clever or

¹ I wish to express my thanks to Dr. R.O.A.M. Lyne for his help and advice throughout, and to Professor Martin Ostwald, who kindly read this note in draft and made many useful suggestions.

formidable."² She properly points out the poem's lack of rhetorical logic (p. 143): if we take, for example, lines 7–22, we can count five different topics: Lycotas' travels, an expostulation on his *fides*, the wedding omens, the failure of her votives, an imprecation on the makers of weapons. That Arethusa is slightly muddle-headed is undeniable, but she is also, at least in amatory matters, quite formidable. Just as Propertius has depicted through Arethusa's vision of Lycotas a soldier who does no credit to Rome, so in Arethusa he depicts a wife whose openly expressed erotic interests are highly unconventional among upper-class Roman women.³ Starting with lines 25–28, one finds Arethusa praying that any wounds Lycotas receives be the result of his abrasive armor and not some girl's teeth. She is not particularly concerned by the fact that Lycotas has grown thin, rather she prays that the condition be due to his longing for her (the position of *meo* at the end of line 28 is emphatic). Camps⁴ has pointed out that *salvo* at the end of the poem reflects Arethusa's double concern—the safety of her husband and his fidelity towards her. This has already been adumbrated in line 2: *si potes esse meus*.

It is lines 67–69 that most clearly show Arethusa's twin concerns:

sed (tua sic domitis Parthae telluris alumnis
pura triumphantis hasta sequatur equos)
incorrupta mei conserva foedera lecti!

All commentaries correctly gloss *pura hasta* as a Roman military reward. The evidence for this is abundant: see especially Servius *ad Aen.* VI. 762:

² M. Hubbard, *Propertius* (New York 1975), p. 144.

³ It is admittedly difficult to form fully satisfactory generalizations about a given culture's sense of propriety, but the evidence suggests than an upper class Roman would have found the idea of a wife's having any control over her husband's sex life unusual if not improper. Cato (*Plut., Cat. Mai.* 17. 7) boasted that his wife never came into his arms except when it thundered. Plutarch elsewhere remarks that Julia's affection for Pompey was notorious (*Pomp.* 53. 2): περιβόητον ἦν τῆς κόρης τὸ φίλανδρον, and in *Mor.* 279 e-f observes that a Roman wedding was consummated in total darkness, giving as possible reasons the bride's modesty, the husband's modesty, hiding physical abnormalities, and a sense of shame, even in lawful unions, καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις. Elsewhere we hear praise for Aemilia, wife of Scipio Africanus, for her tolerance of his affair with a slave girl (*Val. Max.* VI. 7. 1), and learn that Octavian divorced Scribonia for her "moral perversity" (*pertaesus morum perversitatem eius*) of being intolerant of her husband's mistress (*Suet., Aug.* 62. 2 and 69. 1). Livia was more prudent, so ran the rumors, and provided Augustus with virgins to deflower (*Suet., Aug.* 71. 1, *Dio LIV.* 19. 3). We might further note Propertius' Cornelia as a contrast to Arethusa: *haec est feminei merces extrema triumphi / laudat ubi emeritum libera fama rogum* (IV. 11. 71–72). Granted that the situation is different, it is still significant that Cornelia never mentions anything even faintly erotic, and accepts the thought of Paullus' taking another wife with equanimity. For discussion of these and other documents, see J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Roman Women* (London 1962), pp. 200 ff.; W. Kroll, *Die Kultur der Ciceronischen Zeit* 2 (Leipzig 1933), pp. 26 ff.; P. Grimal, *L'amour à Rome* (Paris 1963); R.O.A.M. Lyne, *The Latin Love Poets* (Oxford 1980), pp. 1–18; J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London 1985), pp. 112–41.

⁴ W. A. Camps, *Propertius: Elegies, Book IV* (Cambridge 1965), p. 86.

Pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta, id est sine ferro: nam hoc fuit
praemium apud maiores eius qui tunc primum vicisset in proelio,
sicut ait Varro. . . .

and also Suet., *Claud* 28: (sc. *Posiden spadonem*) *inter militares viros hasta pura donavit*. What has been neglected by the commentators, however, is the common meaning of *hasta* as the male member. J. N. Adams⁵ amply demonstrates that "the sexual symbolism of weapons was instantly recognizable in ancient society," citing examples from a wide variety of Greek and Latin genres. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* gives five references for the use of *hasta* itself as a sexual image: *Priap.* 43, App., *Met.* X. 21 (codd. Laur. 29. 2, Laur. 54. 32, et al.), Zeno I. 6. 3 (=PL 11. 315), and Aus., *Cento Nuptialis* 359. 17. With this in mind we can recognize a highly witty *double entendre* ending Propertius' poem.

At first glance, Arethusa seems to make three wishes in lines 63–70. In lines 63–66 she begins a prayer that Lycotas stay out of the way of flying weapons, but only gets to the point of describing the danger. In 67–68 she hopes that Lycotas will have the distinction of a *pura hasta*—although a military decoration, we should note, would be difficult for someone to obtain who accepts the advice to avoid danger and disregard glory (*ne . . . tanti sit gloria*). In line 69, Arethusa makes her wish for Lycotas' *pura hasta* conditional upon his keeping their marriage undefiled, and finally, in line 70, she adds that this is the only condition under which she wants him to return. Thus the eight lines modulate from a plea for Lycotas' physical safety to one for his sexual fidelity. Lines 67–68 seem to break the logic of the passage, but in fact, given the double meaning of *hasta*, these lines become an important part of the psychological realism of the poem: Arethusa's amatory concerns mix with and overshadow her wishes for Lycotas' military success and safety. Just as in lines 23–28, where her concern for the physical hazards of the campaign yields to her more immediate concern for Lycotas' fidelity, the "second sense" of line 67 is that Lycotas should keep his member undefiled by an illicit liaison. *Pura* modifying *hasta* is paralleled in line 69 by *incorrupta* modifying *foedera*. Unlike Propertius' more explicit boasting over his erotic encounter in II. 15, the Arethusa poem is generally more subtle, but the woman's sexual interests surface consistently throughout the poem.⁶ It would be very difficult to capture the nuance of the *double entendre* in English without losing the primary meaning of *pura hasta* as a military reward. Perhaps

⁵ J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London and Baltimore 1982), p. 19.

⁶ For an excellent evaluation of Propertius' use of *double entendre* (in IV. 9) see W. S. Anderson, "Hercules Exclusus, Prop. 4.9," *American Journal of Philology* 85 (1964), 6–9. Jasper Griffin (note 3, above), p. 140 observes that the veiling of the characters behind Greek names allows Propertius to depict a bolder, more aggressive Roman woman than he could in, e.g., III. 12, where the characters are the contemporary figures Aelia Galla and Postumus.

something to the effect of "May your Regimental shaft join the parade untainted" would do.

One could perhaps relegate Arethusa and Lycotas to a category of "fantasies on Greek themes": like Horace's Lydia and Sybaris they do not quite conform to the patterns one expects of a youth of military age and his lady. But is the Arethusa poem at all Greek, except for the names of the couple? Unlike that of Horace, *Odes* I. 8, which heavily admixes elements of the Hellenic world,⁷ Propertius' setting is utterly Roman, down to the household Lares (54). Moreover, Arethusa is not a hot-blooded *meretrix*, but a Roman matron, married and managing a household in the traditional manner. If it is valid to view Propertius IV. 3 as evoking a largely Roman world, then we can properly see in the poem humor that is also a piquant rejection of Roman attitudes and duties. Horace wrote about an army of tough Italian boys in *Odes* III. 2: Propertius' soldier, as we have seen, is barely capable of holding his weapons. Like the foreign princess of the same ode, Arethusa fears for her man, but her trepidation over his sexual fidelity is at least as strong as that for his safety. It appears that Propertius, whose apathy and contempt for *res militaris* is openly expressed in II. 7, II. 15, and III. 4, has lightly and delicately asserted in Arethusa's letter that the claims of the life of love are the strongest ones at last.

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⁷R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book I* (Oxford 1970), p. 109.

From Separation to Song:
Horace, *Carmina IV**

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for H.L.P.

minuentur atrae carmine curae
(IV. 11. 35-36)

I. Introduction

The fifteen poems of Horace's *Carmina IV*, a collection published in 13 B.C., are the final lyric collection of one of the most meticulous poetic craftsmen that has ever lived, and not surprisingly they display a degree of control that defies complete analysis. Only when one approaches this collection repeatedly and from different critical stances does one begin to appreciate its richness of detail, its emotional and thematic complexity, its chiaroscuro of contrasting tones and moods, its carefully crafted interplay of image and reality, and the degree to which every detail contributes to the overall effect, shape and movement.

In several earlier studies I have taken what one might call an architectural approach to Book IV. Two of these studies have shown how Book IV combines the centrifugal thrust of violent contrast with the centripetal pull of motivic links.¹ Thus in Book IV Horace juxtaposes poems lamenting the passing of time and the approach of death with poems

*I am particularly in debt to the following three studies of Horace: E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957); S. Commager, *The Odes of Horace. A Critical Study* (New Haven 1962); C. Becker, *Das Spätwerk des Horaz* (Göttingen 1963). For Book IV of the *Odes* I have also drawn heavily on W. Wili, *Horaz und die Augusteische Kultur* (Basel 1947), pp. 354-72; D. Norberg, "Le quatrième livre des Odes d'Horace," *Emerita* 20 (1952), 95-107; J. M. Benario, "Book 4 of Horace's *Odes*: Augustan Propaganda," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 91 (1960), 339-52; W. Ludwig, "Die Anordnung des vierten Horazischen Odenbuches," *Museum Helveticum* 18 (1961), 1-10.

Unless otherwise indicated, references in this article are to Horace's *Odes*.

¹ "The Recurrent Motifs of Horace, *Carmina IV*," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 79 (1975), 189-228; "Motivic Transformation in Classical Literature and Music," *Classical World* 70 (1976-77), 257-66.

praising poetry and its power to confer immortality (IV. 1 with IV. 2; IV. 7 with IV. 8; IV. 9 with IV. 10), poems praising the peaceful accomplishments of Augustus with poems glorifying the violent wars waged by his stepsons (IV. 5 with IV. 4; IV. 15 with IV. 14), long and complex poems with short and simple poems (IV. 2 and IV. 4 with IV. 3; IV. 9 with IV. 10), and so on. As counterbalance to these potentially divisive juxtapositions the book contains a tight web of recurrent motifs which link the poems one to another while simultaneously underscoring their contrasts. Two other studies have shown how similar analysis of structure and motif can throw light on the interpretation of specific poems in the book and even on the question of whether the Vergil addressed in IV. 12 is the famous poet.²

This architectural approach is surely justifiable in studying the works of a poet who himself in the epilogue to his first collection of odes compares his poetry to the pyramids (III. 30. 1 ff.), but the approach is limited in that it stresses *static* relationships within a book—the placement of poems relative to each other, subtle verbal and thematic links between them, architectural parallels between different groups of poems, and so on. I have already indicated that Book IV yields its secrets only to those who come at it from many different directions, and in the present article I adopt what we might, for want of a better term, call a dynamic approach, stressing not the static relationships within the architecture of Book IV but rather its inner movement—how one mood or theme yields to another, how the emotional rhythm of the inner parts relates to that of the whole. If the architectural approach works from the surely correct assumption that the book was intended to be read and reread, to be viewed as a single entity incorporating an almost spatial interplay of parts, the dynamic approach works from the equally justifiable assumption that the book was also intended to be read aloud, and listened to, as an ongoing, shifting, moving entity gradually unfolding in time. A final assumption, of course, is that these two approaches effectively complement each other, that each helps counterbalance the distortions and limitations inherent in the other.

II. The Dominant Rhythms of Book IV

In Book IV as a whole there is a clear shift of mood, theme, and attitude from the first poem to the last. IV. 1 opens the book with war, separation and loss. By the time Horace comes to IV. 15, he is singing of peace, plentiful sharing, and poetry. The completeness of this about-face becomes fully apparent if we juxtapose some key lines from each poem. The opening lines of IV. 1 lament the resumption of wars (IV. 1. 1-2):

² "Horace, *Carmina*, IV, 12," *Latomus* 31 (1972), 71-87; "The Motif of Spring in Horace, *Carmina* 4.7 and 4.12," *Classical Bulletin* 49 (1973), 57-61.

Intermissa, Venus, diu
rursus bella moves?

IV. 15 rejoices in the coming of peace (IV. 15. 4–9):

tua, Caesar, aetas
fruges et agris rettulit uberes,
et signa nostro restituit Iovi
derepta Parthorum superbis
postibus et vacuum duellis
Ianum Quirini clausit

IV. 1 proclaims Horace's separation from others, from the joys of feast and symposium, from poetry and song (IV. 1. 29–32):³

me nec femina nec puer
iam nec spes animi credula mutui
nec certare iuvat mero
nec vincere novis tempora floribus.

IV. 15 ends with Horace participating with others in symposium and song—joyful concerns which seem far removed from the renewed wars with which the book began (IV. 15. 25–32):

nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
inter iocosi munera Liberi
cum prole matronisque nostris,
rite deos prius apprecati,
virtute functos more patrum duces
Lydis remixto carmine tibiis
Troiamque et Anchisen et almae
progeniem Veneris canemus.

And while the poet of IV. 1 laments his loss of power (*non sum qualis eram*, 3), the poet of IV. 15 is so caught up with his subject that Apollo himself must check the rush of his poetry (IV. 15. 1–4):

Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui
victas et urbis increpuit lyra
ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor
vela darem.

We shall return shortly to a fuller examination of the movement from IV. 1 to IV. 15, but first it is worth mentioning that Horace himself clearly joins these two poems one to another by a series of links, among which the following are only the most striking. IV. 1 begins with Horace calling on Venus as *mater saeva* (5) and ends with him declaring his inability to pursue

³ Although this passage does not explicitly dissociate Horace from song, this dissociation is implicit in his separation from the festivities in which song play so large a part. Cf. also 22–28—the songs and dances which Paullus, in marked contrast to Horace, can offer.

Ligurinus through the *volubiles aquae* (40). IV. 15 reverses the sequence of these motifs, beginning with Apollo's injunction to Horace not to set sail on the dangerous sea of epic poetry (1–4) and concluding with Horace's song of *almae progeniem Veneris* (31–32). The description in IV. 1 of the abundance of wealth and pleasure which Paullus possesses corresponds to the description in IV. 15 of the manifold joys of the Augustan era, and the long polysyndeton of IV. 1. 13 ff. (*et . . . et . . . et . . . et . . . et*) followed by the long chain of negatives (29–32: *nec . . . nec . . . nec . . . nec . . . nec*) is closely mirrored in the similar progression in IV. 15. 4 ff. (*et . . . et . . . et*) and 17 ff. (*non . . . non . . . non*). Horace's anguished prayers at the beginning of IV. 1 (*parce precor, precor*, 2) are recalled by his joyful prayers at the end of IV. 15 (cf. *apprecati*, 28), the song in which he has no part in IV. 1 (22–24) by the song in which he is central at the close of IV. 15.

These and similar links between IV. 1 and IV. 15 not only enclose the collection in two neatly joined poems but also call our attention to the gulf between these poems, to how far from IV. 1 we have progressed by the time we reach IV. 15. I have suggested above that this movement is one from separation to union, from war to peace and poetry, from loss to possession, and it is this movement in its many ramifications that provides the basic rhythm for Book IV and for its inner components.

We begin with the progression from separation to union. IV. 1 is above all a poem of separation, even of alienation. We have already cited the lines that evoke Horace's sense of separation most poignantly, but they are worth repeating as they sound a central theme of the poem (IV. 1. 29–32):

me nec femina nec puer
iam nec spes animi credula mutui
nec certare iuvat mero
nec vincire novis tempora floribus.

The separations that lie behind these words are manifold—Horace from Ligurinus, that youth to whom he is attracted but from whom he feels so hopelessly isolated (33–40); Horace from Paullus, the young man whom in this poem he commends to Venus with only half-masked envy (10–28); Horace from the youths whose *blandae preces* (8) Horace implicitly contrasts with his own loss of eloquence (cf. 35–36); Horace from Cinara, the woman who had recently died and whom Horace mentions several times, always with feeling, in his late poems.⁴ Even to Venus herself, the embodiment of love and, on another level, of lyric poetry, Horace can only say *abi*—go away (7).

By the time we reach IV. 15, in contrast, all is togetherness. The final scene (25–32) unites young and old, man and god, the ancient and the new,

⁴The other mentions of Cinara are in IV. 13. 21–22 and in *Epistles* I. 7. 28 and I. 14. 33.

male and female, in joyous communal song and festivity; there is no hint of the barriers that isolated Horace so completely in IV. 1. In place of the *abi* of IV. 1 we find Horace in IV. 15 celebrating return—the return of peace (8–9), the return of crops to the fields and of the Roman *signa* from the Parthians (4–8), the return of Rome to older and better moral standards (9–14), and, implicitly, the return of Augustus to Rome. For it is important to remember that behind the metaphorical separations referred to in IV. 1 and elsewhere in the book there are numerous literal separations which also cast their shadow on Book IV, whether or not they find explicit expression in it. Augustus' absence from Rome in the years immediately preceding the publication of Book IV is openly and emphatically mentioned in IV. 2. 33 ff. and IV. 5. 1 ff.; it is surely one of the separations that haunted Horace during this period, and just as surely Augustus' return in 13 B.C. lies behind the fulfilled joy of IV. 15 and its profusion of words of return. Book IV thus moves not only from a mood of separation and alienation in the beginning to one of union at the end but also from the literal separation of Augustus from Rome lamented in IV. 2 and IV. 5 to a celebration of his return in IV. 15.

Other literal separations also probably helped shape Book IV. Vergil, the poet whom Horace had once called "the half of my soul" (I. 3. 8) and with whom he had shared a long and fruitful personal and professional friendship, had died in 19 B.C. Another poet friend, Tibullus, had also died recently, as had Cinara, or what she represented (cf. IV. 13. 21–23). In addition, it seems that in the period following 23 B.C. there had been at least some tensions of a fairly serious sort between Horace and his patron, Maecenas; and we know that as a result of the Murena affair in 22 B.C. there had been a break in the erstwhile complete confidence of Augustus in Maecenas. From these separations there could be no complete recovery, no literal return which, like Augustus' return to Rome, would fully restore what had been lost. But several of the poems toward the end of the book strongly suggest some sense of healing. Horace's poem to Maecenas, IV. 11, certainly bespeaks warm reunion as well as underlying sadness, and his poem to Vergil, as I have suggested elsewhere, seems best interpreted as a recreation in immortal verse of the easy and close friendship which the poets had formerly shared.⁵ And while IV. 15, like IV. 1, does not explicitly mention Maecenas or Vergil, it is significant that the song on which Book IV ends is one with decidedly Vergilian overtones and that, almost alone of Book IV, this final poem carries no reference to the ultimate separation of death.

In mentioning background events behind Book IV I am not suggesting that the movement of the book is a literal recreation of Horace's emotional history during these years. We cannot know what part the deaths of Vergil

⁵*Classical Bulletin* 49 (1973), 57–61; also *Latomus* 31 (1972), 87.

and Tibullus, the problems with Maecenas, the absence of Augustus from Rome played in the actual creation of Book IV; still less can we know whether Horace himself went through an emotional crisis in which he moved from a sense of lonely separation to one of fulfilled participation, or, if he did, what brought about the sense of restoration. What we do know is that in Book IV itself there is a clear progression from one mood to the other, and we shall see later that this progression finds reflections and extensions in many other aspects of the book as well. We can *surmise* from the mixture of sadness and joy, separation and reunion, in IV. 11 and 12 something of Horace's thoughts concerning Maecenas and Vergil at this time, possibly even something of the progression of those thoughts; we have fairly clear indications in the book itself of what Horace felt about Cinara's death and about Augustus' absence and return; we know that in *Epistles I* Horace explicitly suggests that his days as a lyric poet are over (I. 1. 1-12), and IV. 6 seems to suggest that the choice of Horace to compose the *Carmen Saeculare* in 17 B.C. may have been a critical step on the road to a renewed sense of poetic and personal vitality. In the end, however, these matters remain largely in the realm of surmise; what we must hold to is the certainty that in Book IV Horace has, for whatever reasons and from whatever sources, created a clear and emotionally compelling rhythm that carries us from alienated loneliness to joyful sharing.

The movement from isolation to togetherness finds a clear analogue and extension in the movement from war and violence to peace and harmony. We have already drawn attention to the stress on war at the start of IV. 1 and to the stress on peace and poetry in IV. 15. We should add that the warlike beginning of IV. 1 is sustained in the military language of lines 1 ff., 16 ff., and 38 ff., and that the peaceful character of IV. 15 is extended not only in the emphasis throughout on the peaceful rather than the military accomplishments of Augustus but also in the suggestion that universal peace will now reign—the separations between Roman and Roman, between Roman and barbarian, like the separations between the poet and those around him, will now heal (17-24). Furthermore, in IV. 1 Horace explicitly emphasizes his distance from song: it is the youths whose prayers are *blandae* (8), Paullus who is *non tacitus* (14), while of himself Horace says (IV. 1. 35-36):

cur facunda parum decoro
inter verba cadit lingua silentio?

It is a dramatically different Horace who begins IV. 15 by describing himself as *volentem proelia me loqui* (1) and ends it with the word *canemus* (32). And the goddess driving new wars on a resisting Horace in IV. 1. 1 ff. is replaced by a god checking Horace from even singing of wars in IV. 15. 1 ff., the *saeva Venus* of IV. 1. 5 by the *alma Venus* of IV. 15. 31-32.

In connection with the book's progression from war to peace and poetry it is worth mentioning again the possible significance of the historical

background. We have already noted that the years 20 to 13 B.C. saw Horace move from the renunciation to the resumption of lyric poetry. The later years of this same period witnessed also a progression from war toward peace. Following the defeat of Lollius in 16 B.C. Augustus' stepsons and eventually Augustus himself became actively involved in the German campaign, an involvement which is clearly mentioned in Book IV and about which Horace apparently felt considerable anxiety. Augustus returned in 13 B.C., and though actual peace was not to come for a time to the northern frontiers, his return was celebrated by the erection of the *Ara Pacis*. Again it is only a conjecture, though seemingly a likely one, that this historical progression from war toward peace in 16 to 13 B.C. played some part in shaping the clearly parallel movement of the book of poetry which Horace was composing during these years. Again, however, what matters and what is certain, as our subsequent analysis will demonstrate, is the poetic progression from war to peace within Book IV itself.

We have mentioned a third movement also, that from loss to attainment, from death to new life. To this movement we shall return later in some detail. For now, suffice it to say that IV. 1 looks back to what Horace has lost (*non sum qualis eram*) and that in particular the mention of Cinara reminds us of the ultimate separation of death, a separation which hangs heavy over many other poems of Book IV; and that IV. 15, in contrast, emphasizes what Horace still has, looks resolutely and with seeming joy toward the future, and says not a word about death.

Between the outside poems of Book IV we can thus see several clear and related movements: from alienation and separation to union and participation, from war to peace and poetry, from loss and the shadow of death to recovery and joy in continued life. What do the thirteen intervening poems contribute to this progression from IV. 1 to IV. 15?

Clearly there is no gradual or steady progression along any one front. By the time we get to IV. 8 and 9, the theme of poetry is sounding loud and clear, and in the same poems the threat of death has yielded to the promise of poetic immortality. Similarly, the alienation of Horace in IV. 1 is clearly breaking down by the time we come to IV. 5 and 6. On the other side, however, there is something of a progression in the fact that *not until we reach IV. 15 do we complete the movement toward peace, poetry, harmony, life*; in all of the intervening poems something of the war, the separation, the death of IV. 1 remains, albeit in differing degrees. If the progression from IV. 1 to IV. 15 is thus in no way steady, at least it reaches its *téλος*, its complete fulfilment, only in IV. 15; the remaining poems are at best only intermediate stages toward this fulfilment, stages arranged, to be sure, in no precisely graded order, but stages that always retain something of the darkness of IV. 1.

In IV. 2, for instance, Horace's sense of separation from other persons and from poetry is beginning to break down (see especially 27 ff., 45 ff., 49 ff.), and mention is made of Augustus' return and of the peace associated

with him (33 ff., 37 ff.); on the other hand, however, war and violence still loom large (5 ff., 13–24, 34 ff.), death is emphatically mentioned at 21–24 and 53–60 (cf. also 1 ff.), and the focus of the whole poem is on the gulfs that divide Horace from Pindar and from Antonius, gulfs which surely recall the central contrast in IV. 1 between Horace and Paullus. In addition, the poem ends on a strong note of separation—not only the separation of Horace from Antonius (*te . . . me*, 53–54) but also the poignantly described separation-in-death of the young animal from its mother (IV. 2. 54–60):

me tener solvet vitulus, relict
matre qui largis iuvenescit herbis
 in mea vota,
fronte curvatos imitatus ignis
tertium lunae referentis ortum,
qua notam duxit, niveus videri,
 cetera fulvus.

IV. 3 suggests Horace's sense of poetic power and achievement, but there remain many hints of separation: the distinctions, sharply drawn, between Horace and other men (3–9); the reference to the envy, diminished but still present (16), which Horace had so keenly felt and which had divided him from others; the definition of his poetic acceptance in terms of the fingers that now point him out as someone different (22–23), a far cry from the communal poetry in which Horace participates at the end of IV. 15. IV. 4 may celebrate the union of god and man (74 ff., cf. 1 ff.), of father and stepson (27 ff.), of new and old (37 ff.), but the poem is dominated by war, war from which Horace stands noticeably apart and which he describes in the most violent terms (note especially 9–16, 50 ff., 59 ff.). The poem may speak of new life out of old (39 ff., 53 ff.), but we retain more its ubiquitous images of death, destruction, and separation (note especially the sharp division drawn between Roman and barbarian [cf. IV. 15. 21 ff.], the poignant description of the young animal about to be torn from its mother [13 ff.—cf. IV. 2. 54 ff.], and the mention of Ganymede at 4). IV. 5 goes far toward stressing the union of Horace with other Romans in praise of Augustus and the precedence of Augustus' peaceful accomplishments over his military (17 ff.), and in these respects it is very similar to IV. 15; it differs from IV. 15, however, in that perhaps its most memorable passage deals not with union but with separation (IV. 5. 9–16):

ut mater iuvenem, quem Notus invido
flatu Carpathii trans maris aequora
cunctanem spatio longius annuo
 dulci distinet a domo,
votis ominibusque et precibus vocat,
curvo nec faciem litore dimovet:
sic desiderisicta fidelibus
 quaerit patria Caesarem.

The joyful union envisioned at the end of IV. 5 thus remains only a vision, a hope shadowed by the separation, the pain, the longing, and the sense of distance evoked by these beautiful lines.⁶ IV. 6, standing near the center of the collection, is literally split down the middle by the movement that characterizes the book as a whole. In its first twenty lines we have war, violence, death, and separation; in its final twenty, gentleness, new life, and, above all, poetry (the central four lines, 21–24, provide a deft transition between the contrasting outer panels). The Apollo of the second half is similar to the Apollo at the beginning of IV. 15, the Horace at the end of IV. 6, happily directing his young singers, similar to the Horace at the end of IV. 15. But how different is the violent Apollo at the start of IV. 6; and how different from the peaceful world of the final twenty-four lines is the hell that gapes in its first twenty! IV. 7 sings of springtime and the return of new life in the world of nature, but it emphasizes that for man there is no second springtime, no return, only the final separation; and while it ends on a note of friendship—man for man, goddess for man, it is of friendship that fails to overcome death and separation (IV. 7. 25–28):

infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
 liberat Hippolytum,
 nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro
 vincula Perithoo.

IV. 8 and IV. 9 emphasize poetry and its ability to confer what IV. 7 denies—a second springtime to man. Both poems, however, contain ample reminders of war, of violence, of separation, of death—see, for example, 8. 13 ff., 17 ff., 22 ff.; 9. 13 ff., 25 ff. In addition, Horace in IV. 8, as in IV. 3, describes his poetic vocation in terms that emphasize the differences between him and other men (1–12), and again he explicitly alludes to the dividing force mentioned in IV. 3. 16—*invidia* (23–24; cf. the allusion to the same force in the *lividas obliviones* of IV. 9. 33–34). Moreover, behind the whole of IV. 9 one senses inescapably the separations that had resulted from Lollius' military defeat in 16 B.C. Lollius' defeat probably contributed to the entry of Drusus, Tiberius, and eventually Augustus himself into the war, a fact to which the placement of IV. 9 exactly midway between IV. 4 and IV. 14 may well be related. Horace tactfully does not refer in IV. 9 to the anguish and the isolation that Lollius must have suffered during the years following his defeat, but the emphasis on inner qualities and on steadfast courage in the face of a hostile world (note especially 43–44) certainly reveals the poet's awareness of what Lollius was enduring. The mixture of separation with union, death with life, in IV. 10–13 is too obvious to require much comment. IV. 10 and IV. 13 both begin by emphasizing Horace's vindictive sense of standing apart from Ligurinus and

⁶Note also the poignant *abes iam nimium diu* of line 2 and the subjunctives of lines 25 ff. (cf. the more certain futures in the similar passage at IV. 15. 17 ff.).

Lyce and enjoying their suffering, but both move from this separation to a sense of sharing and of sympathy; IV. 11 and IV. 12 look forward to shared joys, to the renewed springtime of song, but both do so with numerous reminders of separation (e.g., 11. 21 ff., 25 ff., 29 ff.; 12. 5 ff., 26 ff.), death (11. 6 ff., 25 ff.; 12. 5 ff.), and violence (11. 25 ff., cf. the military language of 21–24; 12. 5 ff.). And, as we have seen, behind IV. 11 may well lie the tensions that had divided Horace from Maecenas, behind IV. 12 almost certainly is the fact of Vergil's death in 19 B.C. Finally, IV. 14, like IV. 4, balances its hints of togetherness, peace, and immortality against strong descriptions of the violence of war (see especially 9 ff., 18 ff., 25–32) and of the divisions between man and man (Roman vs. foreigner in the whole first section, cf. 41 ff. and 15. 21 ff.) and between man and nature (25 ff.).

One aspect of the larger movement of Book IV, then, is the way in which the book moves ahead on different fronts from poem to poem, advancing on this front in one poem, that in another, always progressing toward the full and concerted resolutions of IV. 15 but never quite reaching them until the final poem. There are other ways too in which the individual poems contribute to—and reflect—the overall movement of the book. For one thing, just as the inner components of a Greek tragedy often "imitate" the movement of the whole play,⁷ so each poem of Book IV reflects one or more of the larger rhythms of Book IV.

IV. 1, for instance, itself contains clear hints of these basic rhythms. At the beginning all is war, separation, loss, and Horace wishes for nothing more than to be uninvolved (*abi*, 7). At the end he remains isolated, but he now longs for Ligurinus and for the eloquence he once had; he now dreams of the human companionship and love he has just abjured (29–30). In most of IV. 2 the emphasis is on Horace's distance from Pindar and from Antonius: how different from him they are, how much greater than his is their poetry. But at the center of the poem Horace explicitly places his poetry beside Pindar's (27–32), and at the end he looks ahead to joining Antonius in shared celebration of Augustus' return. There is thus in each half of the poem a strong suggestion of the movement from separation to togetherness. Each half also suggests a movement from war and violence to peace: from the warlike and violent songs of Pindar (5–27; note especially 12 ff., 21 ff.) we move to the gentle songs of Horace (27–32), from Antonius' praise of Augustus' deeds of war (33 ff.) to Rome's and Horace's celebration of his return (37 ff.). IV. 3 reflects the book's basic rhythm in a somewhat different way, and we shall return to it, and to IV. 7, 8, and 9, later. Although the basic rhythms of the book are present only faintly in IV. 4 itself (see below), there are clear reflections of them in the progression from war in IV. 4 to peace and music in IV. 5, from Horace's aloof stance in

⁷ Cf. my article, "Structural Parallelism in Greek Tragedy: A Preliminary Study," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 102 (1971), 465–96.

IV. 4 to his involved stance in IV. 5, from repeated mention of death in IV. 4 to the anticipation of renewed life in IV. 5 (shadowed always, however, by lines 9–16). Furthermore, IV. 5 itself moves clearly from anguished awareness of separation (2, 9–16—and we recall that the separation is caused by war) to blissful anticipation of reunion, from a memorable image of division (9–16) to a memorable vision of union in song (33–40). Of IV. 6 we have already spoken, and little more need be said: its movement from war, violence, death, and separation in the first twenty lines to peace, harmony, new life, and union in the last twenty is too clear to require further comment. Of IV. 10 and IV. 13 also we have perhaps already said what is relevant: both begin with Horace emphasizing his vindictive separation from Ligurinus and Lyce, but both then move from that stance to one of sympathy and shared sorrow. IV. 11 and IV. 12 by virtue of their very genre—invitations—move from an awareness of present separation to anticipation of union, and various aspects of each poem emphasize this movement. Both poems insert sharp reminders of death near their beginnings (11. 6–8; 12. 5–8), and lines 21 ff. of 11 remind us of the separations Phyllis has suffered, lines 14–24 of 12 of the present separation of Vergil and Horace. It is from these reminders of death and division that we progress to the pictures of union with which both poems end. Finally, in IV. 14 there is a clear movement from the largely warlike achievements celebrated in the first 34 lines to the largely peaceful vision of the last 18; there is also a shift, analogous to that from IV. 4 to IV. 5, from an emphasis on war in IV. 14 as a whole to an emphasis on peace and song in IV. 15, and from Horace's lack of explicit involvement in IV. 14 to his very involved stance in IV. 15.

This survey has concentrated on reflections that are largely coterminous with individual poems. One could also find similar reflections on both a larger and a smaller scale. Thus, for example, there is in the first triad of the book a clear progression along the lines we have suggested—from almost total isolation in IV. 1 to almost complete acceptance in IV. 3, with IV. 2 standing as a midway point in which Horace keenly feels the differences that divide him from others but also clearly senses ways in which he can share and participate. On a smaller scale we have already mentioned the movements of the two halves of IV. 2, and a little later in this discussion we shall see that several poems are structurally analogous to IV. 2.

For now, however, I wish briefly to mention several extensions of the movements we have been studying. First, in both the book as a whole and in a number of its individual poems there is a clear progression from what others do and have to what Horace does and has, from the world outside to the world inside. Thus in both IV. 3 and IV. 8 Horace begins with a catalogue of others' occupations or habits only to come around in the end to his own, and the movements in IV. 1 from Paullus (9 ff.) to Horace (29 ff.), in IV. 2 from Pindar (1 ff.) to Horace (27 ff.) and from Antonius (33 ff.) to

Horace (45 ff.), and in IV. 9 from other poets and their subjects (5 ff.) to Horace and his subject (30 ff.) are clearly analogous. Similarly, in IV. 7 and 12 Horace begins with descriptions of the world at large only to move from there to himself and his intimate friends. The movements of IV. 6 (Apollo in relation to others [1 ff.] → Apollo in relation to Horace [29 ff.]) and IV. 11 (description of house [1 ff.] → Horace and his friends [13 ff.]) are again analogous, and there are clear hints of the same progression in and between several other poems. In this repeated movement from others and the external world to Horace and his world there is an obvious extension of the movements from separation to union, from isolation to participation, which we have found at so many levels of the book.

Another obviously related extension is the movement, again found in and between many poems, from a sense of poverty, even impotence—what I don't have, what I can't do—to a sense of wealth and power—what I do have, what I can do. Near the start of IV. 1 Horace sings of what he has lost—*non sum qualis eram* (3); at the end his theme is much the same—he no longer has his former eloquence (35–36), and only in his dreams can he grasp his beloved (37–38); in between he sings of what others have and what he lacks (9–32). By contrast, IV. 15 begins with the poet so caught up by his subject that the god himself must check him (1 ff.) and ends with him surrounded by the *munera Liberi* (26) and pouring forth with others his abundant song of praise; in between the poem sings of the bounties in which Horace fully shares. The same progression is present in many of the individual poems as well. In IV. 2, for instance, Horace moves from extravagant and self-deprecatory praise of the rich talents of Pindar and Antonius to modest statements of what he himself has (27 ff., 45 ff.), in IV. 3 from vivid description of the deeds that are not his to forthright mention of the accomplishments that are, in IV. 8 from the gifts he would give if he were rich (1 ff.) to the gifts he can and does give (11 ff.). IV. 5 clearly moves from an image of loss and deprivation (9 ff.) to a vision of plenty (17 ff.), IV. 6 from scenes of taking away (1–20) to scenes of giving (21–44, especially 29 ff.), the concluding portions of IV. 11 and IV. 12 from a sense of what has been lost (11. 21 ff.; 12. 19 ff.) to a sense of what remains (11. 31–36; 12. 27–28).

Implicit in both the progressions we have just examined is the movement from external to internal—from what others have (usually externals) to what Horace has (especially his inner gifts), from the world "out there" to the world inside a person, from the physical to the spiritual. This last progression is obviously present in poems such as IV. 3 and IV. 8, but there are clear traces also in other poems and groups of poems. Thus we move in IV. 4–5 and 14–15 from the physical triumphs of Drusus and Tiberius to the largely spiritual and moral accomplishments of Augustus; in IV. 9 from the military accomplishments mentioned in the first half (17 ff.) to the more inner qualities stressed in the second half (34 ff.); in IV. 1 from Paullus' material possessions (9 ff.) to Horace's inner feelings (33 ff.); in

IV. 11 from the description of material preparations in the house to the inner joys promised at the end; in IV. 2 from the extravagant and showy brilliance of Pindar and Antonius to the quiet inwardness of Horace's poetry and sacrifice; and in IV. 6 from Apollo the doer of visible deeds of war to Apollo the giver of inner qualities (IV. 6. 29–30):

spiritum Phoebus mihi, Phoebus artem
carminis nomenque dedit poetae.

The final two examples, and to a lesser degree many of the others as well, remind us of one other related progression within the book, one best defined in the technical terms of poetry: from the *grande* to the *tenue*. These words, whose technical significance goes back to the Alexandrians and especially to Callimachus (with *tenue* the Latin equivalent of the Greek $\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\nu$), refer not just to the size but also to the spirit of poetry. They embody a tension between that which is grandiose and sprawling and that which is compact and tightly knit, between that which is powerful and unrestrained and that which is less imposing but more refined, between that which is external and obvious and that which is internal and subtle. That Horace, like most poets of his time, follows Callimachus' preference for the *tenue*, is clear from many of his poems⁸ and not least from Book IV itself. For in this book he constantly moves from the large to the compact, the violently rushing to the gently flowing, the conspicuous to the unassuming, and always he associates himself with the latter qualities. This movement from the *grande* to the *tenue* is perhaps most apparent in IV. 2 as we move from the swan-like, grandiose, torrential verse of Pindar to the bee-like, modest, gently-flowing verse of Horace, from the lofty epic poetry in which Antonius will celebrate Augustus to the simple but exquisitely described offering of Horace. But the movement is clearly present also in IV. 1, IV. 3, IV. 6, and IV. 8, and there are sure traces of it in other poems as well. We see it unmistakably in the movement from IV. 4 and 14 (violent deeds described in long, grandiloquent, Pindaric poems) to IV. 5 and 15 (peaceful deeds described in shorter, simpler, more Horatian poems); and the movements from the lengthy and Pindaric IV. 2 and IV. 9 to the short and personal IV. 3 and IV. 10 represent yet further variations. Furthermore, in the book as a whole we move from an average length of forty-five lines in the first seven poems to an average length of thirty-five lines in the last seven—a significant, if subliminal, embodiment of the movement from the *grande* to the *tenue*.

⁸ Among the relevant passages are I. 6. 9, II. 16. 37–40, and *Epistles* II. 1. 225; cf. also III. 3. 69–72 and *Satires* II. 6. 13–15. For a useful summary, see J. V. Cody, *Horace and Callimachean Aesthetics* (Brussels 1976), pp. 9 ff.; also Commager, *Odes of Horace*, pp. 37 ff. On Callimachus and Latin poetry, see also W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom. Die Nachfolge seines apologetischen Dichtens in der Augusteerzeit* (Wiesbaden 1960); W. Clausen, "Callimachus and Latin Poetry," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 5 (1964), 181–96; J. K. Newman, *Augustus and the New Poetry* (Brussels 1967).

Two final comments on this movement. First, one of its subtlest manifestations comes in the contrast between the opening lines of IV. 1 and 2 and those of IV. 15. IV. 15 begins with a passage that immediately recalls the whole technical tradition surrounding the *tenue*: Apollo's warning to Horace (IV. 15. 1 ff.) not to embark on the seas of epic poetry and epic subjects has analogues not only in Callimachus himself but also in numerous Latin poets working in the Callimachean tradition. In contrast to these *tenue*-related words stand the *grande*-related openings of IV. 1 and IV. 2. IV. 1 begins with Venus driving new wars upon the poet—metaphorically, just the subject from which Apollo restrains Horace at the start of IV. 15. IV. 2 begins explicitly with the poet who, like Icarus, foolishly hazards flight over the vast seas of Pindaric poetry—an image obviously related to Apollo's warning to Horace in IV. 15 not to set sail on the treacherous waters of epic poetry. The movement of imagery from IV. 1 and IV. 2 to IV. 15 thus further weaves into the book the movement from the *grande* to the *tenue*.

Second, that the book's movement is consistently from the *grande* to the *tenue* and that Horace consistently associates himself with the latter must and should color our interpretation of those poems and those persons that carry overtones of the *grande*. The obvious preference for and movement toward the *tenue* must certainly, for instance, support those critics who have found an undercurrent of distaste in the Pindaric IV. 4 and IV. 14 and those who have detected irony in Horace's extravagant praise of Pindar and Antonius in IV. 2.⁹ Indeed, Horace's rejection of the *grande* as unsuitable for himself in IV. 2 provides the necessary clue to the proper interpretation of IV. 4 and IV. 14. In IV. 2 he explicitly says that the soaring flight and rushing torrent of Pindar are not for him. Is this not a clear (if necessarily subtle) indication of how we are to respond to his obviously Pindaric descriptions of the soaring Drusan eagle in IV. 4 and the flooding Tiberian river in IV. 14? And as if to underline the point, he begins IV. 15 by having Apollo himself remind the poet that the singing of wars is not for him.

We have come some distance from the rather external movements—separation to union, war to peace—with which we began, but I trust that the close relationships between the different movements we have considered are apparent. The progression from the *grande* to the *tenue* is obviously analogous to that from war and violence to peace and poetry, and the progression from what others do and have to what the poet does and has is

⁹ See, e.g., on IV. 2: W. R. Johnson, "The Boastful Bird: Notes on Horatian Modesty," *Classical Journal* 61 (1965-66), 274; P. L. Smith, "Poetic Tensions in the Horatian *Recusatio*," *American Journal of Philology* 89 (1968), 62-65. On IV. 4: K. J. Reckford, "The Eagle and the Tree (Horace, *Odes*, 4.4)," *Classical Journal* 56 (1960-61), 23-28; W. R. Johnson, "Tact in the Drusus Ode: Horace, *Odes* 4.4," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* (1969), 171-81. On IV. 14: L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and his Lyric Poetry* (Cambridge 1946), p. 86; N. E. Collinge, *The Structure of Horace's Odes* (London 1961), p. 75, note 2.

as clearly analogous to that from isolation to participation. It remains to consider one final extension, one that involves the movement of the book as a whole. One senses in Book IV a Horace who is not only separated from other persons but who is also divided within himself. There are, for instance, strong hints of inner division between the aging man, all too aware of time's passing and death's approach, and the increasingly revered national poet whose composition of the *Carmen Saeculare* in 17 B.C. had in a way marked the summit of his career. One feels also a split between Horace the private citizen and Horace the national poet, and in the latter role a split between the Horace who wholeheartedly praises Augustus and the Augustan peace and the Horace who finds it less easy to praise the military victories of Drusus and Tiberius. The book also suggests a haunting gulf in Horace's own mind between what he once was and what he is now—*non sum qualis eram*. The very structure of the book seems to articulate these inner separations. At one moment Horace speaks in one role, at the next in another, at the next in yet another, and the rapid shifts seem merely the reflection of his inner fragmentation. But from these suggestions of inner division we move again to a sense of harmony at the end: in IV. 15 the many roles Horace has played seem mysteriously to coalesce, the inner tensions to vanish. He speaks at once as private citizen and public figure, as poet and lover (his last song, like his first in Book IV, is of Venus), as a person who happily watches past flow into present and present into future. It is tempting to see behind Book IV not only an experience of loneliness and alienation broken at last by a renewed sense of acceptance and participation but also a time of self-doubt, turmoil, division, yielding at last to a fresh awareness of personal worth, integration, and direction. One could no doubt find evidence in *Epistles I* for such an interpretation, and Book IV itself would seem to offer further support. We must, however, again rest content with what we actually have in Book IV itself—a poetic creation that at every level suggests not only a progression from war, violence, and death to peace, poetry, and life, not only a movement from the outward to the inward, from others to oneself, from the *grande* to the *tenue*, but also a healing spiritual journey from inner conflict and division to inner peace.

III. Parallelism of Form in the Odes of Book IV

Given the extensive parallelism of thematic and emotional movement that we have found in Book IV, it is scarcely surprising also to find a high degree of parallelism of form between the poems of the book. We begin with IV. 2 and IV. 4, two poems whose formal parallelism is striking. Each begins with a long opening section of highly Pindaric character (2. 1–27; 4. 1–28). Both of these opening sections contain multiple similes that emphasize the bursting energy and the violent sweep of their subjects, both involve soaring flight, death, and military achievement, and both lead into a decrescendo to a gentler subject—to Horace's quiet verse in 2. 27–32, to the

moral influence of Augustus on his stepsons in 4. 29–36 (especially 33 ff.). Following these initial sections both poems take off anew on subjects akin to their opening themes—in IV. 2, on Antonius' poem in praise of Augustus' military victories (cf. Pindar's poetry), in IV. 4, on the praise of the earlier military victories of the Nerones (cf. the victories of Drusus). Each of these second sections looks back in time (2. 37–40; 4. 37 ff.), each deals with the great leaders of Rome (*Caesarem*, 2. 34; *Neronibus*, 4. 37), each speaks of the light these leaders have brought out of darkness (2. 46–47; 4. 39–41),¹⁰ and each again leads around to a somewhat quieter close tinged by melancholy for a victim (2. 54–60; 4. 70–76). We note, of course, in this two-fold movement of both poems a double reflection of the book's frequent movement from violence to gentleness, war to peace, the *grande* to the *tenue*.

Closely akin in structure to these two poems are IV. 6 and IV. 9. Each of these again falls roughly into two sections, and in each both sections contain at least a hint of the falling or decrescendo movement we have noticed in the two halves of IV. 2 and IV. 4. IV. 6, like IV. 2 and IV. 4, begins with war and violence (1–20) but from there moves to the gentleness and peace of lines 21–24. After starting again in a lofty vein but on a different topic, poetry (25 ff.), it again moves from there to a conclusion which is intimate and which, like the conclusion of IV. 2, alludes to the passing of time (41–44).¹¹ IV. 9, after its introductory stanza, moves from an elaborate and rhetorical description of earlier poets and their subjects (often warlike: 5–30) to a gentle close which, like the end of the first half of IV. 2, focuses on Horace's own poetry (30–34). Its second half deals with a different subject, Lollius, and moves from description of his moral qualities to a close which has some of the pathos of the end of IV. 2 (51–52).

IV. 3 can be seen as a miniature version of IV. 2. It begins, after an introductory couplet, with a single long and elaborate sentence describing what Horace is *not* (3–9: cf. the description of Pindar in IV. 2. 5–27, again preceded by a brief introduction, lines 1–4), then ends the first half with a lovely and gentle description of what Horace is (10–12), a description that is strikingly reminiscent in word and tone of the passage that ends the first half of IV. 2 (27–32). And the second half of the poem, as in IV. 2. 33–60, moves from a lofty evocation of poetic achievement (13 ff.) to a humble and gentle close (24).

A second, obviously related structural pattern that is found in several poems of Book IV is most clearly seen in IV. 7. In this poem, twelve opening lines of description are followed by sixteen lines which place man's lot against that background and emphasize the darkness of human life—

¹⁰ Cf. also *pulcher... ille dies* (IV. 4. 39–40) with *laetosque dies* (IV. 2. 41).

¹¹ See IV. 2. 54–55, 57–58; the passing of time is similarly focal at the end of the first half of IV. 4 (lines 25–36, esp. 33–34).

death, separation, the passing of time. The parallelism of IV. 12 to IV. 7 is so precise and so apparent as to obviate further comment, and Horace underlines the parallelism of the poems by making them the same length and by beginning them with strikingly similar descriptions of spring. IV. 11 is also parallel: again there are twelve opening lines of description, and again the remainder of the poem sets human life against that description and emphasizes separation, loss, sorrow. And like IV. 7 and IV. 12, IV. 11 also holds out amidst the darkness at least a hint of light: Phyllis may find consolation in song (IV. 11. 35–36), as Vergil and Horace may in drink (IV. 12. 19–20, 26–28), as Torquatus may in enjoying what he has while he can (IV. 7. 19–20). The parallelism of these three poems goes beyond even what we have mentioned. In all three, lines 13 ff., those lines immediately following the opening description, emphatically mention the passing of time; all three poems contain in their fifth to eighth lines strong hints of death and violence—foreshadowings of the darker tone of their concluding portions (see 7. 7–8, 11. 6–8, 12. 5–8); all three end with explicit mentions of darkness (7. 25, *infernis . . . tenebris*; 11. 35–36, *atrae . . . curae*; 12. 26, *nigrorum . . . ignium*)¹² and with human companionship; and, most obviously, all three are spring poems which move from bright openings to shadowed conclusions.

IV. 13 also adheres, though less obviously, to the same pattern. Again we begin with twelve lines describing the present situation, again we move from there to concluding stanzas which explore Lyce's and Horace's emotional reaction to the situation. The poem obviously does not start with spring, but its first three stanzas do contain seasonal imagery and, like the opening descriptions of the other three poems, do mix the dark with the light. Again the lines immediately following this opening description fix squarely on time's flow (13–16: cf. *tempora* in 12. 13 and 13. 14); again we meet fire amidst darkness in the final stanza (26–28), though the note of friendship is twisted here into the cruel friendship of Lyce's tormentors; and again the overall movement is from joy to shared sorrow over what has been lost.¹³

The structure of IV. 8 stands midway between that of IV. 3 and that of IV. 7. Its first twelve lines are closely parallel to the first twelve of IV. 3: lines 1–8, what others do (cf. IV. 3. 3–9); lines 9–12, what I do (cf. IV. 3. 10–12). Like IV. 3 it then moves to a somewhat more general plane and

¹² In IV. 11 and 12 note also images of fire and warmth in the final stanzas (11. 33–34; 12. 26) and foreshadowing of their dark conclusions in lines 11–12 of each poem (cf. the fire image of IV. 11. 11–12, with its dark smoke, with the mood and imagery of the final stanza, the *nigri colles* of IV. 12. 11–12 with the *nigrorum . . . ignium* of line 26).

¹³ IV. 10 is too short to display extensive parallelism with these others, but in its general movement from springtime to sadness and loss it is obviously parallel to IV. 7, 11, and 12, and its movement from derision to sympathy aligns it with IV. 13. Note how the joy at the start of IV. 11, 12, and 13 is in each case emphasized by anaphora (*est . . . est . . . est* in 11, *iam . . . iam* in 12, *audivere, Lyce . . . audivere, Lyce* in 13).

ends, as does IV. 3, with the gods of poetry. With IV. 7, the poem it follows, IV. 8 shares a movement from the world "out there" (7. 1–12; 8. 1–8) to "our world"—note the shift to first person plural at 7. 14 and 8. 11 and the focus in the remainder of both poems on human mortality. But whereas IV. 7 emphasizes the certainty and permanence of death, IV. 8 stresses the possibility of new and permanent life through poetry; and whereas IV. 7 ends on a reminder of divine and human impotence against death, IV. 8 ends on the opposite theme (IV. 8. 25–34):

ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Aeacum
virtus et favor et lingua potentium
vatum divitibus consecrat insulis.
dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori:
caelo Musa beat. sic Iovis interest
optatis epulis impiger Hercules,
clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab infimis
quassas eripiunt aequoribus ratis,
ornatus viridi tempora pampino
Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus.

Yet a third, again related, structural type appears in IV. 1, IV. 5, and IV. 15. The parallelism of 5 and 15 is striking at every point except the beginning. In 5. 17–32 we have four stanzas cataloguing Augustus' accomplishments, especially his peaceful accomplishments. Corresponding to these are five plus stanzas in 15 (4–24) containing a similar catalogue. Both catalogues begin with the newly productive fields (5. 17–18; 15. 4–5), both then mention the return of peace and morality (5. 19 ff.; 15. 8 ff.), and both move to a list of the foreign enemies whose threat is now diminished (5. 25–28; 15. 21–24). Finally, both poems end with two stanzas describing communal and convivial celebration of Augustus and the gods associated with him (5. 33–40; 15. 25–32). The poems are not parallel at their starts for a simple reason: IV. 5 opens with four stanzas in which the focus is on Augustus' absence from Rome. There is significantly no counterpart to these stanzas in IV. 15—for by the time of that poem Augustus has returned. Instead, the memorable simile of the mother looking across the sea for her long-lost son (IV. 5. 9–14) is replaced by the related injunction to Horace not to set sail on the seas of military poetry—and we recall that it was wars that occasioned the absence of Augustus which Horace laments in IV. 5. Furthermore, the blissful but as yet unrealized vision of Augustus' return in IV. 5 ff., with its imagery of sunlight and springtime, becomes reality in the literal return of the crops to the fields in the roughly corresponding lines of the last poem (IV. 15. 4–5).¹⁴

¹⁴ Cf. also the motif of light in the precisely corresponding lines of IV. 14—lines 5–6.

The structural similarity of IV. 1 to these two poems is obvious, a similarity that binds them to each other despite their vast differences of tone and subject. IV. 1 begins with two stanzas of introduction (cf. 5. 1-16 and 15. 1-4), follows with five stanzas describing the bounties of Paullus' house and way of life (cf. the bounties Augustus has brought in 5. 17-32 and 15. 4-24; cf. also the polysyndeton in these lines of IV. 1 with that in IV. 15. 4 ff.), and concludes with stanzas indicating Horace's place with respect to that plenty (1. 29-40; cf. 5. 33-40 and 15. 25-32). We may note also that the pattern of all three poems, 1, 5, and 15, is similar to what we meet in the opening portions of 2 and 9: lengthy descriptions of what others do or have (2. 1-27; 9. 5-30) followed by a thoughtful indication of Horace's place relative to these descriptions. And this overall pattern, in turn, is quite similar to that which we find in the IV. 7, 11, 12, 13 group—external description followed by placing of selected individuals, including Horace, against that setting.

We have omitted only IV. 14. Like IV. 8 it stands midway between different structural types. Its opening eight lines are strikingly similar to the opening of IV. 5—mention of *patres* and citizens in the first stanza, association of Augustus with the sun in the second. Its subsequent movement from extravagant, Pindaric description of the warlike deeds of Tiberius (7-32) to an emphasis in the falling close on Augustus' contributions reminds one strongly of the similar movement in 4. 1-36, and its conclusion has much in common with 15. 4-24. We should, of course, be neither surprised nor dismayed that this poem fits no one structural type—or that the structural types of the book fall into several sub-categories. Instead, what must amaze us is that, given the extensive parallelism of the book and the similarities even among its sub-categories, its basic patterns are varied so skillfully that we are scarcely aware of just how parallel everything is! This variety within sameness is yet one more mark of Horace's artistry; it is also, we might add, a type of artistry frequently found among poets dedicated to the *tenue*. Like Mozart, Horace can use the same materials, the same patterns over and over again, and always the result will seem new, fresh, different: "always the same, but in a thousand different appearances."¹⁵

¹⁵ Anton Webern, *Briefe an Hildegarde Jone und Josef Humplik*, ed. J. Polnauer (Vienna 1959), p. 21 (a passage in which Webern, like Mozart a devotee of the *tenue*, is comparing his method of composition to the Parthenon frieze). Yet another manifestation of the parallelism of Book IV is the fact that in poem after poem anaphora and repetition, often involving the second person pronoun, appear in the final stanzas: e.g., *cur . . . cur . . . cur, iam . . . iam, te per . . . te per* in IV. 1; *io Triumphe . . . io Triumphe* in IV. 2; *c . . . o, tui est . . . tuum est* in IV. 3; *occidit, occidit* in IV. 4; *te . . . te . . . te, dicimus . . . dicimus* in IV. 5; *rite . . . rite* in IV. 6; *non . . . non te . . . non te* in IV. 7; *cur . . . cur* in IV. 10; *quo . . . quo . . . quo, illius, illius, quae . . . quae* in IV. 13; *te* seven times in IV. 14. 41-52; *non* six times in IV. 15. 17-24.

IV. The Recurrent Motifs of Book IV

We turn last to the recurrent motifs of Book IV. As mentioned earlier, I have elsewhere shown how these motifs underscore the basic themes of the book, emphasize the sharp contrasts between its different poems, and by their recurrence lend needed cohesion to the collection as a whole. These same motifs also reflect and support the basic *movement* of the book, our subject in this article, as the following brief survey will suggest. Since elsewhere I have dealt with these motifs at considerable length, here I shall limit myself to only the most striking examples.

We have seen that one of the most significant aspects of Book IV is the way in which progressions begun in IV. 1 and reflected in many of the subsequent poems reach their complete fulfilment only in IV. 15. The same is true of the motifs. Motif after motif carries *mixed* associations, sometimes good, sometimes bad, in the first fourteen poems but appears with wholly positive associations in IV. 15. The motifs of Venus and of war, to start with those motifs that are prominent at the beginning of Book IV, are typical. In IV. 1 Venus represents all that Horace has lost, and while in IV. 6. 21 ff. she takes on more attractive connotations, in IV. 10, 11, and 13 she is again associated with the losses time brings. In IV. 15, as we have noted, we end with a Venus who is *alma* and who is closely linked not only with Rome and Augustus but also with Horace and his poetry. Metaphorical wars begin in IV. 1, and many subsequent poems also bring in war, almost always in a destructive context; in IV. 15 this motif too reaches its τέλος—war at last is purged (8–9, 17–24).

Other motifs behave in a similar fashion. Rivers and the sea, for instance, carry many different connotations in the first fourteen poems. In IV. 2 and 14 rivers are in violent flood, in IV. 3, 7, and 12 they are calm; in IV. 1 and 11 their flow suggests the flow of time, while at other places they are associated with poetry; the sea suggests danger and separation in IV. 2 and IV. 5—as well as also the Augustan peace in the latter poem (IV. 5. 19). In IV. 15 these motifs also come to rest: Horace, at Apollo's bidding, will not set forth on the dangerous sea of poetry that celebrates war; and Augustus' peace includes even those who drink the distant Danube (21).

Gifts are associated in several poems with what Horace is not (e.g., IV. 1. 17–18; IV. 2. 19–20; IV. 8. 1 ff.; IV. 10. 1), elsewhere with his own poetry (see especially IV. 8. 11–12). This motif too finds its conclusion in IV. 15 as Horace stands *inter iocosi munera Liberi* (26). This joyful passage is the culmination also of the wine motif, a motif that until this final appearance has similarly carried mixed associations. In IV. 1 wine is associated with what Horace has lost, in 5 with Rome's celebration of Augustus, at the end of 8 (in the person of Bacchus) with poetry, in 11, 12, and 13 largely with the passing of time and with poetry. The idea of time's passing, perhaps more a theme than a motif, itself carries mixed connotations in the first fourteen poems (for a sample of the range, compare

the melancholy associations of this theme in IV. 5. 9 ff. and IV. 7. 14 ff., the mixed associations in IV. 2. 54 ff., the largely favorable associations in IV. 2. 37 ff., IV. 5. 6 ff., and IV. 6. 41 ff.), unambiguously favorable connotations in its final appearances in IV. 15 (4-5, 25-32). Similarly, the motif of return is tinged with melancholy and anxiety in many earlier poems (Will Augustus return safely? Why can't youthful beauty, like the spring in the cycle of the seasons, return to man? Does poetry alone offer such a return?), but is wholly joyous in IV. 15 (the return of crops to the fields, of the Roman standards from the Parthians, of the older morality, and, behind it all, of Augustus to Rome). While early poems suggest how easily family connections can be severed (e.g., 2. 21-24, 54-56; 4. 13-16; 9. 21-24; 12. 5-8), at the end of IV. 15 the family is solidly together (27). The motif of song itself, which has connotations of joy and life in 2, 3, 6, 8, and 9, of loss and death in 1, 11, 12, and 13, reaches its culmination only in the *canemus* with which the book ends. Even the minor motif of horses and of riding (e.g., 1. 6-7; 4. 44; 6. 13; 11. 26-28; 14. 22-24) makes its final joyous appearance also in IV. 15 (IV. 15. 9-11):

... et ordinem
rectum evaganti frena licentiae
iniecit....

Before turning in somewhat greater detail to one last motif, by no means the most prominent but perhaps the most characteristic of Book IV, let me make two comments. First, the fact that motif after motif moves from its many and varied manifestations in the earlier poems to a sure and unambiguous conclusion in IV. 15 is clearly one further extension of the overall movement we have been following. Just as the book at every level moves from separation to union, so its many recurrent motifs are physically and thematically divided from each other and within themselves in the first fourteen poems but all come together with unambivalently joyous connotations in the final poem.

Second, the fact that the manifold parallelism of movement and structure comprehends even the minute verbal details of Book IV is further strong evidence that Book IV was written or at least revised with a clear view to its overall design, not, as some have suggested, hastily compiled from some new imperial poems and some leftover earlier pieces.

We have suggested elsewhere that Horace's use of the motif of spring sums up Book IV's central tension between human mortality and poetic immortality.¹⁶ The same motif also clearly reflects the movement on which we have concentrated in this article. We meet two different springtimes in Book IV. One is a violent, exuberant, youthful spring—the wild spring floods of IV. 2 (Pindar) and IV. 14 (Tiberius), the spring winds that teach the Drusan eagle its violent flight in IV. 4, the spring of Ligurinus in IV.

¹⁶ *Classical Bulletin* 49 (1973), 57-61, esp. 60.

10. The other is a peaceful, restrained spring—the gentle spring of IV. 7 and IV. 12, the spring to which Augustus is compared in IV. 5. 6, the springtime of Maecenas' birthday in IV. 11.

The two springtimes of Book IV differ in time and placement as well as in character: the youthful spring always comes first, the mellow spring later. In actual time, the rushing, flooding springtime of IV. 2 and IV. 14, with the rivers still in flood, clearly precedes the gentler springtime of IV. 7 and IV. 12, when the rivers have receded. More important, in the movement within the book the same order is preserved. The violent spring of IV. 4 is followed by the gentle spring of IV. 5 and IV. 7, the youthful spring of IV. 10 by the more mature spring of IV. 11 (April—see 16) and IV. 12 (and then by the winter of IV. 13. 12). It is tempting also to see the violent early spring floods of IV. 2. 5 ff. yielding to a later springtime in IV. 3. 10 ff.: certainly the gentle rivers there are strikingly similar to those that we meet in the late spring of IV. 7 (IV. 3. 10; IV. 7. 3–4):

sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt
mutat terra vices, et decrescentia ripas
flumina praetereunt;

In addition, I think we should see the violent spring floods of IV. 14 yielding to a gentler spring in IV. 15. For what does IV. 15 describe if not the second spring of Rome, a notion reinforced throughout by the many *re*-compounds with their reminiscences of the similar *re*-compounds in IV. 7? Furthermore, it is in the second stanza that the crops return to the fields (cf. the ravaging of the fields by the spring floods of IV. 14), and we recall that it was in the second stanza of IV. 5 that the image of the Augustan spring burst forth, ushered in by the *re*-compounds of lines 3–5. Given the extensive parallelism of the book and especially that between 5 and 15, this relationship is perhaps not accidental.

Horace knows where he stands with respect to the two springtimes of Book IV. Before the rushing, early springtime of Pindar and Drusus and Tiberius he feels admiration and awe, and into the descriptions of Pindar there even creeps a note of envy, the same envy that Horace feels toward the still-burgeoning springtime of Ligurinus in IV. 10 (cf. the springtime image in IV. 13. 6). But Horace knows that this springtime is not his: not only does he no longer have the exuberance and the rushing vigor of life's first springtime, but also there is in that early springtime an element of violence, of unrestraint, with which he does not wish to associate himself. Instead, he embraces for himself the later, gentler, more mellow springtime of IV. 7 and IV. 12, of IV. 3 and IV. 5 and IV. 15. It is a springtime which in IV. 7 and 12 is heavy with the melancholy awareness of the swift passing of man's one spring but which is also filled with profound joy over the perpetual spring that poetry alone can grant. For the springtime of IV. 7 and IV. 12 is strongly associated with Horace's poetry: as we have seen, it

vividly recalls a passage in IV. 3 which describes the sources of his poetry, and it partakes of the same gentleness and restraint as that poetry. Horace thus turns away from the more violent springtime associated with Drusus and Tiberius and Pindar both because it is unattainable for him and also because in some respects it is alien to his temperament.

From that lusty, youthful springtime he turns not only to the springtimes of IV. 7 and IV. 12 but also, in the end, to the sunshine of the Augustan spring. For if the spring of IV. 7, standing as it does at the center of the collection, above all suggests the tensions in Book IV between sadness and joy, death and poetic life, the spring of IV. 15 is that toward which Book IV moves and in which its tensions and divisions find a measure of repose. The springtime of IV. 15 is no ideal and eternal springtime of poetic immortality; rather, it is rooted firmly in the world and its realities, in the ongoing cycles of time with their alternation of birth and decay, in the pragmatism of political decisions, attempted moral renewals, and ritual observances; this springtime carries its reminders of human miseries as well as its hopes of human joys, and Horace describes it in full awareness that, like all creations made by and of humans, it is imperfect and doomed to die. But the springtime of IV. 15 is here and now, real and not metaphoric, present and not merely (as in IV. 5) hoped for, and that same Horace who so resisted Venus' renewed springtime of love and song in IV. 1 is fully a part of it.

The presence of *alma Venus* at the end of IV. 15 is the final proof that IV. 15 too deals with springtime: for who can read *alma Venus* without recalling the *alma Venus* of that greatest of all Latin descriptions of her, a description firmly set by Lucretius in the burgeoning rebirth of springtime?¹⁷

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¹⁷ M.C.J. Putnam's splendid book, *Artifices of Eternity. Horace's Fourth Book of Odes* (Ithaca 1986), reached me only after the present article had been accepted for publication. Given the fact that Putnam's approach and mine in most respects complement each other, covering the same group of poems but with rather different emphases, it has seemed appropriate to let this article stand on its own, rather than to lace it after the fact with cross-references to Putnam's book.

Ovidian Shakespeare: Wit and the Iconography of the Passions

JUDITH DUNDAS

In 1598, Francis Meres made a comment about Shakespeare which is still quoted by critics as evidence for Shakespeare's reputation in his own day: "The sweet wittie soule of Ovid lives again in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare; witness his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugared sonnets among his private friends."¹ But this judgment is not simply historically significant—it is true. And what better way of understanding the full import of Meres' comment than to extend it to include the Ovidian allusions in Shakespeare's plays?

The general context for these allusions is spelled out most clearly in the *Induction* to *The Taming of the Shrew*. It is part of the joke played on the drunken Sly that he is offered Ovidian paintings as among the possessions befitting a lord:

Dost thou love pictures? We will fetch thee straight
 Adonis painted by a running brook
 And Cytherea all in sedges hid,
 Which seem to move and wanton with her breath
 Even as the waving sedges play with wind. (*Ind.* ii. 47–51)²

The other two descriptions, of Io and Daphne, similarly suggest that the beauty of the subject-matter is matched by the skill of the workman, both features Sly is ill-equipped to appreciate.

In at least two of these descriptions, that of Venus and Adonis and that of Daphne, Shakespeare is himself painting with words—more sensuously

¹ Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, p. 282.

² All quotations from Shakespeare's works are taken from *The Complete Pelican Shakespeare*, ed. Alfred Harbage (New York 1969).

The most likely explanation for the un-Ovidian detail of "Adonis painted by a running brook/ And Cytherea all in sedges hid" seems to be Shakespeare's conflation of Ovid's story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus with his story of Venus and Adonis (*Metamorphoses* IV. 306 ff. and X. 524 ff.). But even in Ovid's version of the latter, shade is a component of the *locus amoenus* where the lovers meet: "opportuna sua blanditur populus umbra" (X. 555). On the symbolic features of Ovid's landscapes, see C. P. Segal, *Landscape in Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Wiesbaden 1969).

than Ovid, it is true, for the Elizabethans, on the whole, tended to embellish Ovid's descriptions when they borrowed from him. But they thereby paid tribute to the Ovid whom they perceived as a painter with words, one who lent himself to the enrichment of their own style. When Shakespeare competed directly with Ovid, as he does in his *Venus and Adonis*, it was natural then for him to produce a *copia* on Ovid's story, bringing to light all that is merely implied and ringing the changes on every theme. The epigraph prefixed to this poem, itself derived from Ovid, indicates just that sense of an aristocratic and educated audience that the paintings mentioned in the *Induction to The Shrew* take for granted: "Vilia miretur vulgus: mihi flavus Apollo/ Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua."³ As it happens, these lines from the *Amores* appear, as T. W. Baldwin notes, at the beginning of the *Flores Poetarum* collected by Octavianus Mirandula, a standard grammar school introduction to the poets.⁴ There are no less than four direct allusions to Ovid within Shakespeare's plays, and each one reflects his grammar school training.⁵

One of these again makes a knowledge of Ovid the distinguishing mark of the educated man. Touchstone, in *As You Like It*, demonstrates his superiority to the country folk of the Forest of Arden by comparing himself to Ovid among the Goths. Addressing Audrey, he remarks, "I am here with thee and thy goats, as the most capricious poet, honest Ovid, was among the Goths" (III. ii. 5-6). The two puns, "capricious" from *caper* (goat) and "Goths" (goats), represent the wit that only the educated would appreciate. Jaques, however, in an aside, caps Touchstone's allusion with the comment "O knowledge ill-inhabited, worse than Jove in a thatched house!" (III. iii. 7-8). Not mentioning the story of Philemon and Baucis by name, he reveals his easy familiarity with the *Metamorphoses*, turning the myth into a witty comparison.⁶ If Ovid here means knowledge, it is a sign of wit to be able to play with allusions to his works. Ironically, it sometimes takes the efforts of modern scholars to recover what was once part of every educated person's patrimony.

³ Ovid, *Amores*, I. xv. 35-36. "Let the cheap dazzle the crowd; for me, may golden Apollo minister full cups from the Castalian spring" (trans. from *The Complete Pelican Shakespeare*, p. 1406).

⁴ T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (Urbana 1944), II, p. 410.

⁵ The direct allusions are in: *Titus Andronicus* (IV. i. 42); *Taming of the Shrew* (I. i. 33); *Love's Labor's Lost* (IV. ii. 118); *As You Like It* (II. iii. 5-6). Additional allusions, without mention of Ovid by name, occur in *The Merchant of Venice* (V. i. 79-80), and *Cymbeline* (II. ii. 44-45).

⁶ *Met.* VIII. 630: "parva quidem, stipulis et canna tecta palustri." Arthur Golding, whose 1586 translation occasionally affected Shakespeare's own phrasing, translates this passage: "The roose thereof was thatched all with straw and fennish reede" (VIII. 806). According to Baldwin, Shakespeare used both Ovid and Golding, like other English poets of the day, who did not share the modern prejudice against the use of translations. Even people who could read the original used them. See *William Shakespere's Small Latine & Lesse Greek*, II, ch. XLII.

If we leave fashion aside and inquire into the rhetorical purposes of Shakespeare's mythological allusions, there is one word that sums up all of them: *copia*. From his schooldays, Shakespeare would have learned that Ovid is a treasure-house of examples for the enrichment of speech. The wit of the exercise lies in choosing the appropriate myth and giving it the form that will suit the speaker's expressive purpose, whether it be *exemplum*, simile, metaphor, or other form of comparison. Erasmus' schoolbook on *copia* particularly recommends the use of *exempla* derived from the fables of poets; the instances he gives are the sort to be found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, "for they can be related both fully and briefly, if circumstances and propriety allow."⁷ His emphasis on decorum provides exactly the signpost we need for the direction in which to pursue our inquiry into Shakespeare's use of classical myth.

As an ornament of style, Ovid's stories usually appear in Shakespeare's plays in the form of simile. Pictorial by their very nature, they need to be kept logically separate from the main argument of the speaker. Only when passion breaks down such logical separations does the Ovidian allusion take the form of metaphor. It will be simplest to illustrate the broad distinction with an example drawn from comedy and one drawn from tragedy. In *The Merchant of Venice*, the Prince of Morocco compares himself to Hercules in the contest for Portia's hand:

But alas the while,
If Hercules and Lichas play at dice
Which is the better man, the greater throw
May turn by fortune from the weaker hand.
So is Alcides beaten by his rogue,
And so may I, blind Fortune leading me. . . . (II. i. 31-36)

The parallel between the pompous suitor and Hercules is humorous enough, but I cite it chiefly for the way the allusion appears in the form of a comparison: "So is Alcides beaten by his rogue, / And so may I." In *Antony and Cleopatra*, on the other hand, Antony in his defeat cries out:

The shirt of Nessus is upon me; teach me,
Alcides, thou mine ancestor, thy rage,
Let me lodge Lichas on the horns o' th' moon
And with those hands that grasped the heaviest club
Subdue my worthiest self. (IV. xii. 43-47)

Antony is expressing his own rage by his development of the image, from simple comparison to an identification between himself and Hercules complete enough that, like Hercules, he would cast to the skies (not into the

⁷ Erasmus, *On Copia of Words and Ideas*, trans. Donald B. King and M. David Rix (Milwaukee 1963), p. 70.

sea, as in Ovid)⁸ the bringer of his distress and then end his own misery by destroying himself. Pictorially, the image grows to vent the speaker's passion; but even Morocco's more limited comparison has its pictorial component in the line "If Hercules and Lichas play at dice." No reader of Ovid can forget the memorable pictures he creates with words, and something of this quality accompanies Shakespeare's briefest mythological allusions.⁹

Where such pictures play a part, it is not as allegory but as analogy, Ovid's images set alongside Shakespeare's immediate expression of the thoughts and emotions of his characters, as an enrichment of them. But a better term than "analogy" might be "poetic paradigm," since it includes both the variety of rhetorical uses to which Shakespeare puts his Ovidian allusions and the richness of signification contained in them. Studying these images then becomes less a matter of identifying their source—a fairly simple task in most instances—than of asking the purpose of each one in its particular context. Only in this way can we hope to approach an answer to the question of why certain plays contain so many more mythological images than others, what their relationship to genre might be, and, finally, what possible changes in Shakespeare's attitude to them are discernible in the course of his development as a dramatist. I shall approach these issues chiefly with mythological examples that imply a narrative, not simple references to deities, since it is Ovid's genius as a story-teller that must have quickened Shakespeare's own imagination.

As paradigm, no myth is more illustrative of Shakespeare's sensitivity to emotional color than the story of Philomela. We are given a glimpse of his approach to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in his early play *Titus Andronicus*. Lavinia, the ravaged heroine, turns the pages of the copy of the *Metamorphoses* given to young Lucius by his mother, until she has found the tale of Philomela's rape by Tereus. Titus rightly interprets the message she is trying to convey:

Lavinia, wert thou thus surprised, sweet girl,
Ravished and wronged as Philomela was,
Forced in the ruthless, vast, and gloomy woods?
See, see!
Ay, such a place there is where we did hunt
(O had we never, never, hunted there!),
Patterned by that the poet here describes

⁸ *Met.* IX. 217-18: "corripit Alcides, et terque quaterque rotatum / mittit in Euboicas tormento fortius undas." R. K. Root thinks that the difference between Ovid's account and Shakespeare's may be attributed to Shakespeare's possible knowledge of Seneca's play *Hercules Oetaeus*, but this is by no means certain. See Root's *Classical Mythology in Shakespeare* (New York 1903), p. 74.

⁹ Cf. Coleridge: "The power of Poetry is by a single word to produce that energy in the mind as compels the imagination to produce the picture." (*Coleridge on Shakespeare*, ed. R. A. Foakes [Charlottesville, Virginia 1971], p. 110.)

By nature made for murders and for rapes. (IV. i. 51-58)

I could almost take as my own text the line "Patterned by that the poet here describes," because it sums up the part Ovid's stories play in supplying analogies laden with mythic significance.¹⁰

Two other of Shakespeare's heroines also find in the story of Philomela the pattern of their own sufferings. One is Lucrece. Like Lavinia she finds a kind of sense in the pattern of Ovid's tale:

'Come, Philomele, that sing'st of ravishment,
Make thy sad grove in my dishevelled hair.
As the dank earth weeps at thy languishment,
So I at each sad strain will strain a tear
And with deep groans the diapason bear;
For burden-wise I'll hum on Tarquin still,
While thou on Tereus descants better skill.' (1128-34)

This stanza is followed by two more on the same theme: in one, Lucrece compares the knife she will use against herself with the thorn against which the nightingale leans; in the other, she contemplates finding out a dark, deep desert where, like Philomel, she may unfold "To creatures stern sad tunes, to change their kinds. / Since men prove beasts, let beasts bear gentle minds" (1147-48). The music of her complaint might almost seem to disguise her heartbreak, turning it to sweetness, just as Philomel did. But Lucrece, for her part, may serve as the type of wronged innocence, as happens when Macbeth, reflecting on the crime he is about to commit, peoples the darkness with figures, including "withered murder," who with "Tarquin's ravishing strides" moves like a ghost "towards his design" (II. i. 55).¹¹

My final example is drawn from *Cymbeline*. When Iachimo is looking at the sleeping Imogen in her bedroom at night, he notes, "She hath been reading late/ The tale of Tereus. Here the leaf's turned down/ Where Philomel gave up" (II. ii. 44-46). Imogen reads, however, not to convey her plight, as Lavinia did, but to find, as it were, an image for her own chastity and vulnerability, like a prophetic warning of Iachimo's design against her. Like her reading, the decoration of her room, including the Cleopatra tapestry, the ceiling "with golden cherubins . . . fretted," and the chimney piece showing Diana bathing, reflects the cultivated and fashionable taste of the times. Nevertheless, as Iachimo notes such features as the andirons ("I had forgot them") in the shape of "two winking Cupids/ Of silver, each on one foot standing, nicely/ Depending on their brands" (II. iv. 88-91), he intends to prove not merely that he has been in her room but

¹⁰ Ovid's account of the place where Tereus brings Philomela in order to rape her is: "in stabula alta trahit, silvis obscura vetustis" (*Met.* VI. 521). For Shakespeare's use of the word "pattern" to stand for the Ovidian type of allusions, cf. the passage from *As You Like It*, quoted below, p. 130, in which Rosalind refers to Troilus as "one of the patterns of love."

¹¹ In *Titus Andronicus*, the villain Aaron compares Lavinia to Lucretia (II. i. 108-09); in *Cymbeline*, Iachimo compares himself to Tarquin (II. ii. 12-14).

that there is something lascivious in her tastes. But for us it is worth remembering that George Chapman in his vision of virtuous ladies allows them to represent the Ovidian tales in their embroidery, "their needels leading / Affection prisoner through their own-built citties, / Pinnioned with stories and Arachnean ditties."¹² Only the literal-minded would wish to banish the particular realm of the imagination to which Ovid holds the key.

If the story of Philomel is inherently lyrical and feminine, there are other myths that may also lend something lyrical to the dialogue. Among the most immediate examples to come to mind are allusions to Apollo and Orpheus in the romantic comedies. Even the most conventional of these hides an intensity of daring such as may be found in Proteus' speech on poetry in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*: "For Orpheus' lute was strung with poets' sinews, / Whose golden touch could soften steel and stones, / Make tigers tame, and huge leviathans / Forsake unsounded deeps to dance on sands" (III. ii. 77).¹³ No classical precedent has been found for the first line, but it appears to mean that the poet makes his music within himself, on his own heart strings. Wonderful as this is, there is another passage on the power of music that is yet more deeply rooted in its dramatic context. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Oberon is reminding Puck of the time they witnessed the flight of Cupid's arrow and saw it land on a flower, which in its turn became imbued with the power to make people fall in love:

Thou rememb'rest
 Since once I sat upon a promontory
 And heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,
 Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath
 That the rude sea grew civil at her song,
 And certain stars shot madly from their spheres
 To hear the sea maid's music. (II. i. 148–54)

In this passage, myth appears, not as comparison, but in its own right. The character of Oberon as king of the fairies stands revealed, but more important, the very essence of the play is contained here. Like the Orpheus

¹² Chapman, "Hero and Leander," Fourth Sestiad, 119–21. Leonard Barkan in his recent book *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism* (New Haven 1986) not only compares Iachimo's "reading" of Imogen's body and her room to "raping," but also treats the Renaissance fondness for reading Ovid and for depicting his stories in decoration as a species of "voyeurism." "The voyeurism in *Cymbeline* reflects at once upon pagan traditions and upon the contemporary pursuit of them" (p. 251). Just where does this remark leave Imogen, who both reads Ovid and decorates her room with pagan and erotic figures? Barkan seems to imply a reductive view of the imagination as itself voyeuristic.

¹³ Ovid tells the story of Orpheus in *Met.* X and XI. Root (above, note 8) notes (p. 94) a source for the detail in the second line, referring to Orpheus' power over steel and stones in *Met.* XI. 7–12 and for the fourth line, the taming of tigers, in Virgil's *Georgics* IV. 510: "mulcentem tigris et agentem carmine quercus." For the first and last lines he can find no classical authority. Shakespeare is extravagantly expressive in the praise of poetry, but not poetry simply as words, as Root suggests. Cf. Berowne's praise of love in *Love's Labor's Lost*, IV. iii. 337–38: "as sweet and musical/ As bright Apollo's lute, strung with his hair."

myth, the passage pays tribute to the beauty and power of music. But the imaginative freedom of expression is of the nature of a *parergon*, that classical conception of ornament, whereby the artist can do as he pleases, amusing himself to the enrichment of his artistic conception.

What some critics, such as Douglas Bush, refer to as Shakespeare's more "bookish" allusions¹⁴ may in fact illuminate, in the sense of brightening, a passage by reminding the listener of one of Ovid's own luminous stories. The richness of the allusion depends, however, on the richness of the play in which it appears. For example, it is one thing for Julia in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* to draw a parallel between her case and that of Ariadne, forsaken by Theseus; it is another for Perdita in *The Winter's Tale* to refer to the rape of Proserpina in her flower catalogue. Julia's allusion is just that—a passing reference:

Madam, 'twas Ariadne passioning
For Theseus' perjury and unjust flight,
Which I so lively acted with my tears
That my poor mistress, moved therewithal,
Wept bitterly. . . . (IV. iv. 165–69)¹⁵

Covertly alluding to her own plight, Julia, disguised as Sebastian, describes to Sylvia a fictitious performance she gave as Ariadne, while wearing a gown of Julia's, with Julia in the audience. The two-line summary of the myth is intended as a brief characterization of the speaker's predicament. Pictorial in effect, it also ornaments the text, adding a grace note to the layers of dramatic irony.

Perdita, on the other hand, has an immediate dramatic context for her allusions to goddesses as flower deities at the sheep-shearing feast; she also invokes a greater descriptive richness in keeping with the profounder conception of theme and character in the play:

O Proserpina,
For the flowers now that, frightened, thou let'st fall
From Dis's wagon; daffodils,
That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty (IV. iv. 116–20)¹⁶

¹⁴ See Douglas Bush, "Classical Myth in Shakespeare's Plays," in *Elizabethan and Jacobean Studies Presented to Frank Percy Wilson* (Oxford 1959), pp. 65–85.

¹⁵ As Root notes (p. 41), the word "perjury" suggests *Fasti* III. 473: "dicebam, memini, 'periure et perfide Theseu'!" The epithet "periurus" also occurs in *Heroïdes*, 10. 76, and in *Amores* I. 7. 15. It thus became the standard epithet for Theseus in the sixteenth century (Baldwin, II, pp. 424–25).

¹⁶ Shakespeare may be drawing on *Met.* V. 388 ff. and on *Fasti* III. 427 ff. The longer catalogue of flowers in the latter is more nearly parallel, but the descriptive expressions and the analogy between the innocent maiden and the spring flowers is more developed in the *Metamorphoses*; hence, it is a more immediate precedent for Perdita's half-melancholy rapture: "quo dum Proserpina luco / ludit et aut violas aut candida lilia carpit . . ." (*Met.* V. 391–92).

The dark winter days induced by Pluto's rape of Proserpina are obliquely suggested as a counterpoint to the "winter's tale." But when Perdita continues with allusions to violets "sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes/ Or Cytherea's breath," a longing and an almost painful sense of beauty and its loss speak through her words. This is not merely decorating the text, as one might use mythological ornament on a plaster overmantel; rather, it expresses the very being of the speaker, in the fullness of the tragic circumstances of her birth and the loss of her unknown mother's care. But if she has known no Ceres to weep for her, she lives and loves, and this too comes through the beauty of her description of spring flowers, changing the traditional flower catalogue into a freshly painted picture of springtime. The truth is that Shakespeare loved Ovid so well and was so steeped in his works that he virtually could not fail in his mythological allusions. They are not merely the product and sign of his grammar school training but of his response to the poetic spirit of Ovid.

Used for praise or dispraise, as well as for the expression of other emotions, Ovidian allusions work largely within the affective terms of beauty and ugliness. Just as Perdita's allusions are to beauty, so Thersites' in *Troilus and Cressida* are to ugliness. Instead of Proserpina, he dwells on Cerberus; and as he snaps at Ajax, he reveals his own character as much as Ajax's: "Thou grumblest and ralest every hour on Achilles, and thou art as full of envy at his greatness as Cerberus is at Proserpina's beauty, ay that thou bark'st at him" (II. i. 30). But the savagery of Thersites' use of classical myth is, needless to say, not typical of Shakespeare's drama. More often, such comparisons are used for praise, in a way that evokes Elizabethan pageantry, as well as foreshadowing the court masque of the seventeenth century, in which kings and princes are regularly represented as classical gods. "Those beautiful characters of sense," as Samuel Daniel called them, could fittingly praise and, at the same time, hold up noble models for princes.¹⁷ The final accolade for Prince Hal before the Battle of Shrewsbury in *Henry IV, Part I* is couched in mythological terms:

I saw young Harry . . .
 Rise from the ground like feathered Mercury,
 And vaulted with such ease into his seat
 As if an angel dropped down from the clouds,
 To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus,
 And witch the world with noble horsemanship. (IV. i. 104–10)¹⁸

¹⁷ Cf., for example, my article "'Those Beautiful Characters of Sense': Classical Deities and the Court Masque," *Comparative Drama* 16 (1982), 166–79.

¹⁸ In fact, Perseus, the implied hero, did not ride Pegasus. When he cut off the head of Medusa, Pegasus sprang from her blood. For a parallel allusion in Ben Jonson, see p. 173 of the article cited in note 17 above.

As so often, more than one mythological allusion occurs in the same passage, as if Shakespeare's imagination, once released into this land of enchantment, must needs follow the allusiveness of one myth into another, as here he moves from Mercury to Pegasus. Although unjustified in terms of narrative, this leap from winged god to winged horse makes perfect sense as emphasizing the transcendent prowess of Hal. Similarly, Hamlet's praise of his dead father includes references to Hyperion, Jove, Mars, and Mercury, and sums up his perfection by referring to "A combination and a form indeed/ Where every god did seem to set his seal/ To give the world assurance of a man" (III. iv. 61-63). This is spoken in the spirit of the history plays, where the grand, ennobling function of classical myth is most evident.

Perhaps, however, the allusions in which Shakespeare is most uniquely himself, and at the same time closest to Ovid, are those that appear in his comedies. He might have caught this spirit from the witty detachment that is yet the counterpoint of the compassion and awe with which Ovid tells stories of the classical deities in the *Metamorphoses*. He might also have caught it from the myths used as *exempla* in Ovid's *Amores* and *Ars Amatoria*. The ease with which he introduces the myths without sacrificing their evocativeness appears, for example, in allusions in which not even the names of the mythological characters are necessary. I have already given one instance from *As You Like It*, where Jaques refers to the story of Baucis and Philemon. Another appears near the beginning of *Twelfth Night* when Duke Orsino alludes to the story of Actaeon: "That instant was I turned into a hart, / And my desires, like fell and cruel hounds, / E'er since pursue me" (I. i. 22-24). The moralization of Ovid regularly turned this story into this kind of allegory, but it is significant that Orsino uses the form of a simile—"my desires, like fell and cruel hounds"—leaving no suggestion of an esoteric interpretation.¹⁹ The humor of the passage, deriving from the gap between Orsino's supposed passion and his "changeable taffeta" nature, itself militates against anything very esoteric.

After all, what better way was there to characterize love than through the myths that Ovid tells? In the last act of the *Merchant of Venice*, Jessica and Lorenzo engage in a kind of playful singing match that involves placing themselves in the company of great lovers, with the difference that their love is joined to happiness. The repeated phrase "In such a night" calls attention to the romance of the occasion as they enjoy the evening of moonlight at Belmont. One example from each of the speakers will give the tone:

¹⁹ The behavior of the "fell and cruel hounds" is graphically described in Ovid's account of Actaeon in *Met.* III. 138-252; but with Orsino's interpretation may be compared the standard moralization given in Golding's "Epistle," Book III, or Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586), p. 15: "And as his houndes, soe theire affections base, / Shall them deuowre, and all their deeds deface."

Jessica

In such a night
 Did Thisbe fearfully o'ertrip the dew,
 And saw the lion's shadow ere himself,
 And ran dismayed away.²⁰

Lorenzo

In such a night
 Stood Dido with a willow in her hand
 Upon the wild sea banks, and waft her love
 To come again to Carthage. (V. i. 6-12)²¹

Lorenzo's examples are chosen from Greek and Roman history; Jessica's from myth, as if in the interest of a decorum for the male and another for the female. And so they continue teasing each other until interrupted by a messenger; then Jessica puts an end to their match by asserting: "I would out-night you, did nobody come; / But hark, I hear the footing of a man" (23-24). The "out-nighting" tells us exactly in what spirit to take these allusions: it is as if Shakespeare were ironizing Ovid's own ironies.

The burlesquing of classical myth has of course a long history before Shakespeare, but he would have needed no more than Ovid—in the *Amores*, for example—to give him the tone of such remarks as Mercutio's comparison of Romeo's beloved to other famous women: "Dido a dowdy; Cleopatra a gypsy, Helen and Hero hildings and harlots, Thisbe a gray eye or so" (II. v. 41). Later, we find similar reduction of classical lovers in *The Tempest*, with the cynics' reference to "widower Aeneas" and "widow Dido." More light-hearted are the references to famous lovers in *The Merchant of Venice* or in Rosalind's speech about Troilus and Leander: "Troilus had his brains dashed out with a Grecian club; yet he did what he could to die before, and he is one of the patterns of love. Leander, he would have lived many a fair year though Hero had turned nun, if it had not been for a hot midsummer night; for, good youth, he went but forth to wash him in the Hellespont, and being taken with the cramp, was drowned; and the foolish chroniclers of that age found it was 'Hero of Sestos'" (*As You Like It* IV. i. 88-96). Lovers' banter in Shakespeare revels in such playful allusions to famous examples. Even the apparently more serious comparisons of lovers to Hercules, such as appear in *Love's Labor's Lost* or *The Merchant of Venice*, are not without a touch of humorous exaggeration.

²⁰ Cf. Ovid, *Met.* IV. 99-101, where Thisbe sees the lioness: "quam procul ad lunae radios
 Babylonia Thisbe / vidit et obscurum timido pede fugit in antrum,/ dumque fugit. . . ." As
 Root notes (p. 104), Shakespeare's familiarity with Golding's translation may have affected his
 actual wording, but see Baldwin, II, p. 445 for a general caution in judging Golding's influence.

²¹ Root notes (pp. 4-5 and 56-58) that Shakespeare has borrowed a passage from Ovid's *Heroides* 10, where Ariadne addresses Theseus, and transferred it to Dido:

si non audires, ut saltem cemere posses,
 iactatae late signa dedere manus;
 candidaque inposui longae velamina virgae—
 scilicet oblitos admonitura mei! (39-42)

But the very idea of gods becoming beasts for love is both a tribute to the power of love and an invitation to smile. The story of Europa in particular appears over and over, often with a suggestion that Jupiter is wearing the horns as a cuckold—in *Troilus and Cressida* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, for example. But a more extended use of the image occurs in *Much Ado*, when Benedick, about to marry Beatrice at last, is teased by Claudio:

We'll tip thy horns with gold,
And all Europa shall rejoice at thee,
As once Europa did at lusty Jove
When he would play the noble beast in love. (V. iv. 44-47)

Beatrice continues to play on the image with “Bull Jove, sir, had an amiable low,/ And some such strange bull leaped your father's cow.” In contrast, Florizel, in *The Winter's Tale*, can take the same story and turn it into a joyous tribute to the power of love, without the mockery attaching to Benedick for his final succumbing to love:

The gods themselves,
Humbling their deities to love, have taken
The shapes of beasts upon them. Jupiter
Became a bull, and bellowed; the green Neptune
A ram, and bleated; and the fire-robed god,
Golden Apollo, a poor humble swain,
As I seem now. Their transformations
Were never for a piece of beauty rarer,
Nor in a way so chaste . . . (IV. iv. 25-33)²²

The gradations of seriousness in Shakespeare's treatment of these myths is manifest in the subtle difference of handling; for instance, in the beauty added by Florizel's use of adjectives: “green,” “fire-robed,” “golden.” Yet it is in the light of the same transformations that we must view Bottom's translation into an ass in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Absurdity is never far from love—that is one of Ovid's great contributions to the literature of love, and Shakespeare is his heir.²³

²² The story of Europa is told in *Met.* II. 846-76, but the main source for *The Winter's Tale*, Robert Green's *Pandosto, The Triumph of Time* or *Doratus and Fawnia* (1588), contains a passage that more directly influenced Shakespeare here: “And yet Doratus, shame not at thy shepheards weede: the heavenly Godes have sometime earthly thoughtes: Neptune became a ram, Jupiter a Bul, Apollo a shepheard: they Gods, and yet in love: and thou a man appointed to love” (*Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough [London 1975], VIII, p. 184).

²³ In his *Praise of Folly*, Erasmus, under the mask of Folly, draws attention to the absurdity of love (XI): “Neque vero id Venus ipsa, vel reclamante Lucretio, unquam inficias iverit, sine nostri numinis accessione suam vim mancam atque irritam esse.” (“Venus herself, whatever Lucretius says, would never deny that she would be weakened and shorn of her power if my own divinity didn't come to her aid”: trans. Betty Radice [Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1971], p. 76).

Nowhere is this more apparent than in his *Venus and Adonis*, where the burlesquing of classical myth can be fully developed, since here he is making a *copia* on Ovid's tale, not reducing it to a brief allusion. But narrative demands verisimilitude above all, and that means finding the human truth within the fantastic story. Classical myth is no longer used as vignettes to adorn and illuminate. It is now explored fully as a drama of human emotions. For this is the comedy of love, and the tragedy too. Wit can shine not only in verbal antitheses but in the development of what is only implied in Ovid, the reluctant Adonis and the resulting persuasions of a goddess who, if she does not become exactly a beast like Jupiter, is almost equally ridiculous in wooing a mortal boy who rejects her.²⁴

The fantastic in Ovid becomes exemplary in Shakespeare—not center stage, except in *Venus and Adonis*, but matched to his own characters amid their social setting. The more real the characters, the more integral the classical allusions. He has little interest in literal metamorphosis, neither in the transformation of Bottom nor of Adonis.²⁵ The latter becomes an excuse for Venus to say her last farewell to Adonis, not to reflect on the cyclical nature of life. If myth literalizes metaphor, Shakespeare prefers, in general, to turn it back into metaphor.

By now it should be apparent why Shakespeare's tragedies include relatively few allusions to the classical myths. For him, as for Ovid, the myths, even when they move us to tears, seem to be touched with humor and delight. Where the scene moves into the grandeur of tragedy, there are other reasons of decorum, as well, for being chary of using classical myth: such allusions are not appropriate to the setting of some of his tragedies, such as *Macbeth* or *King Lear*—worlds too remote from Greece and Rome. *Antony and Cleopatra*, on the other hand, can fittingly accommodate some of these allusions, for, apart from the setting, the comic elements of the play encourage them, as *Julius Caesar*, for example, does not. *Troilus and Cressida*, another play with numerous mythological allusions, has both the ancient milieu and the spirit of mockery to which these myths lend themselves, though usually with a happier tone than here. It would appear that genre, including characterization, is the chief determinant in

²⁴ In two articles, I discuss the poem and its critics. See "Ovidian Pictures and 'The Rules and Compasses' of Criticism," *ICS* 9 (1984), 267–75; "Wat the Hare, or Shakespearean Decorum," *Shakespeare Studies* (forthcoming).

²⁵ An emphasis on psychic metamorphosis as discernible in Renaissance poetry and drama is currently fashionable. See, for example, Leonard Barkan's *The Gods Made Flesh* (above, note 12). An interesting variation on this theme appears in Eugene Waith's "Metamorphosis of Violence in *Titus Andronicus*," *Shakespeare Survey*, 10 (1957), 39–49. He views Ovid's interest in metamorphosis as essentially concerned with "the transforming power of intense states of emotion" (p. 41). Waith also considers the larger issue of whether Ovid can be used successfully as a model for characterization and style in drama. Unfortunately, he ignores Shakespeare's dramatic poem, *Venus and Adonis*, which sheds a different light on the question.

Shakespeare's use of such allusions.²⁶ Fashion indeed may have dictated his choice of genre, but it could not be allowed to dictate his use of classical myth. For that, decorum was his sole criterion.

And this is why iconography alone will never answer the really important questions about Shakespeare's use of classical mythology. What is in question is not the source of his images but why they appear in the particular form they do, in a particular context. Indeed, the mere study of iconography in treating Shakespeare's mythological allusions might find its epitaph in the words of Holofernes in *Love's Labor's Lost*: "Imitari is nothing. So doth the hound his master, the ape his keeper, the tired horse his rider" (IV. ii. 121). His own "varying" underlines the animal instinct which lies behind imitation in its most literal sense. In contrast, he has just referred to Ovid's—Naso's—nose for "smelling out the odoriferous flowers of fancy, the jerks of invention." Even Holofernes knows, in theory, that freedom of invention distinguishes the true poet from the would-be poet. Shakespeare appropriated Ovid as no other poet has done, understanding him from the inside and not merely as a schoolbook source of copiousness. Holofernes, on the other hand, is guilty in his similes of the very weakness he criticizes; his examples are as hackneyed as possible. Shakespeare must have enjoyed the joke of giving the pedant this praise of Ovid's originality.

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²⁶ Several critics have noted that Shakespeare's mythological allusions are, in general, more numerous in his earlier plays, but no one appears to pay much attention to the significance of these allusions in relation to genre. Root, for example, reaches the patently absurd conclusion that Shakespeare gradually "recognized the insincerity of the Ovidian system" and found in it "only the material for a jest" (p. 11). Douglas Bush, more cautious, views the shift as largely one from an undramatic or perfunctory use of mythology to a more dramatic and integral one, though he maintains that Shakespeare, to the end of his career, was capable of the purely "bookish" or rhetorical allusion (p. 85). I see this as a false dichotomy, since it does not take into account the requirements of genre and decorum.

The Psychology of Uncertainty in Senecan Tragedy

VICTORIA TIETZE

Since the publication of Regenbogen's influential monograph, *Schmerz und Tod in den Tragödien Senecas*,¹ it has been recognized that the emphatic depiction of emotion, which distinguishes Senecan tragedy from Greek tragedy of the Classical period, is vitally connected with Seneca's Stoic world-view. Several studies have shown that the passionate characters of Senecan tragedy, in whom the absence of *ratio* or reason constitutes vice according to the Stoic view,² act as cautionary *exempla* for the instructive warning of their audience.³ Little attention, however, has been given to two aspects of Seneca's *Affektdramen*: firstly, their conspicuous emphasis on uncertainty; secondly, the *formal* methods by which the psychological dimension of Senecan characters is rendered exemplary. In what follows, I wish to address these two aspects by examining the psychology of uncertainty in conjunction with the formal means of its depiction through description.

By means of frequent and lengthy descriptions placed in the mouths of his characters, Seneca gives psychology—the portrayal of states of mind and emotion—an emphasis and importance in his tragedies which it does not have in those of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides.⁴ As a result of the

¹O. Regenbogen, *Schmerz und Tod in den Tragödien Senecas*, Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 7 (Leipzig 1930), reprinted in *Kleine Schriften* (Munich 1961).

²For the Stoics, virtue is perfected reason—e.g. *Epp.* 66. 32; 76. 10. The *sapiens* eradicates the emotions entirely and lives in a state of *apatheia*—e.g. *Epp.* 85. 3 ff., *Ira* 1. 16. 7 ff. Cf. also E. Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, trans. O. J. Reichel (New York 1962, reprinted from new and rev. ed. of 1879), pp. 253 ff.

³Cf. B. Marti, "Seneca's tragedies. A new interpretation," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 76 (1945), 216–45, especially 222, 230; N. T. Pratt, "The Stoic base of Senecan drama," *ibid.* 79 (1948), 1–11; id., *Seneca's Drama* (Chapel Hill 1983), pp. 76 ff.; E. C. Evans, "A Stoic Aspect of Senecan Drama: Portraiture" *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 81 (1950), 169–84; K. von Fritz, *Antike und moderne Tragödie* (Berlin 1962), p. 47.

⁴Descriptions of emotion in Greek tragedy are usually brief and simple, e.g. Aeschylus, *Cho.* 183 ff., 211; *Pers.* 987–91; *Supp.* 379–80; Sophocles, *Ajax* 587, 794; Euripides, *Hec.* 85–86; *I. T.* 793–97. Emotion tends to be revealed implicitly or through some kind of stage-business: cf.

addition of this psychological dimension, we might expect the dramatic credibility of Seneca's characters to be enhanced. In fact, a reading of the plays quickly reveals that this is not so. As T. S. Eliot has put it: "In the plays of Seneca, the drama is all in the word, and the word has no further reality behind it. His characters all seem to speak with the same voice, and at the top of it."⁵ A remarkable number of the descriptions of emotion, and those of personal physical appearance in which emotion is manifest, portray a common psychology of uncertainty, which is unvaried by the suiting of language to character, and illustrated by the same epic similes. Seneca's extensive use of rhetorical description, with concomitant sacrifice of the development of character essential to dramatic illusion, has conventionally been explained as a necessary evil. It allows Seneca, as a dramatist writing for recitation, to compensate for the supposed absence of stage action in recitation drama⁶ by appropriating the narrative method of the epic poet.⁷ I would like to suggest, however, that this negative view, while not invalid, is incomplete. With particular attention to the portrayal of uncertainty, I wish to counter it with a more positive view of description in Senecan tragedy. It is not simply a compensatory device; it affords Seneca the

F. L. Shisler, "Portrayal of Joy in Greek Tragedy," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 73 (1942), 277–92; ead., "The Use of Stage Business to Portray Emotion in Greek Tragedy," *American Journal of Philology* 66 (1945), 377–97.

⁵ *Seneca: His Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Thomas Newton with intro. by T. S. Eliot (London 1927), p. ix.

⁶ Whether or not Senecan drama was destined for stage performance is one of the central debates of Senecan scholarship. It is unlikely to be resolved given the paucity of our knowledge of the circumstances of recitation. The ancient evidence is collected by J. E. B. Mayor, *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal*, vol. 1 (New York 1901), pp. 173 ff. Far too little attention, however, has been given by studies which attempt to resolve the question (e.g. O. Zwierlein, *Die Rezitationsdramen Senecas*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 20 [Meisenheim am Glan 1966]) to what is meant by "performance" and how it differs in its essentials from "recitation." All that can be reasonably postulated about the production (actual or intended) of Senecan tragedy is that it did not take place in the manner of a spectacle for a mass plebeian audience. Seneca's social status and express distaste for such amusements make it unlikely: cf. *Epp.* 7. 2 ff., L. Friedlaender, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, trans. J. H. Freese & L. A. Magnus (London 1936, reprinted from 7th enl. and rev. ed. of 1908), vol. 2, pp. 90 ff. But there is evidence for recitation in theaters: cf. Mayor, *ibid.*, p. 179. If, as C. J. Herington, "Senecan Tragedy," *Arion* 5 (1966), 422–71, reprinted in *Essays on Classical Literature*, ed. N. Rudd (Cambridge 1972), pp. 444 ff., so cogently argues, such recitations involved more than one reciter, and given that any reciter, trained in the art of *pronuntiatio* (*Ad Herenn.* III. 11. 19 ff.), would have found it quite instinctive to move and gesture as he spoke, the essential difference between "recitation" and "performance" becomes very fine.

⁷ Cf. Zwierlein, *op. cit.* (above, note 6), p. 60: "Die pedantische Beschreibung . . . musste einem Zuschauer, der dies ja selbst sähe, albern erscheinen; dem Hörer kann sie helfen, sich das Bild plastisch vorzustellen." Cf. also E. Fantham, *Seneca's Troades: A Literary Introduction with Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Princeton 1982), index s.vv. "description of what would have been shown on stage" and ead., "Virgil's Dido and Seneca's Heroines," *Greece & Rome* 22 (1975), 3, n. 3.

formal means to advance a moral message in drama. Through it the characters are presented, tacitly, as *exempla of inconstantia*.

The Stoic conception of perfect virtue, embodied in the sage or *sapiens*, is one of *constantia*—complete constancy of action and thought.⁸ Unshaken by any emotions, “certus iudicii, inconcussus, intrepidus” (*Epp.* 45. 9), the *sapiens* of Seneca’s philosophical prose works is constantly contrasted with the morally imperfect, whose susceptibility to emotion means that their thoughts and actions are characterized by uncertainty or *inconstantia*. Hence it is that the protagonists of Senecan tragedy, many of whom are, or will be, guilty of crimes as heinous as murder and incest, are invested with a psychology of uncertainty.

Their *inconstantia* often manifests itself particularly before and during wrongdoing. A scene in which the heroine urges herself to be fixed in her criminal purpose is common to the *Medea* (893 ff.), *Phaedra* (592 ff.), *Agamemnon* (139 ff.) and *Hercules Oetaeus* (307 ff.).⁹ At the actual moment of murdering Agamemnon, the uncertainty of the two culprits, Atreus and Clytemnestra, is described to us in prophetic hallucination by Cassandra (*Ag.* 890–91, 897–900.):

haurit trementi semivir dextra latus,
nec penitus egit: vulnere in medio stupet.

.....

armat bipenni Tyndaris dextram furens,
qualisque ad aras colla taurorum prius
designat oculis antequam ferro petat,
sic hic et illuc impiam librat manum.

Thyestes, who, as we are told at the beginning of the play of that name (37), has been exiled for his crimes, returns to Argos with his ambition for kingly power undiminished. As he does so, his uncertainty is graphically described both by himself and by his son Tantalus (*Thy.* 419–20, 421–22, 434–39):

revolvor: animus haeret ac retro cupid
corpus referre, moveo nolentem gradum.

Pigro (quid hoc est?) genitor incessu stupet
vultumque versat seque in incerto tenet.

⁸ The model for this concept of virtue is the constancy and eternity of God which, as primary fire, will alone survive the cyclical conflagrations bringing about the end of the world: cf. Zeller, *op. cit.* (above note 2), pp. 164 ff. For similarity between the *sapiens* and God, cf. *Prov.* 1. 5, 6. 4; *Epp.* 73. 11, *Const. Sap.* 8. 2.

⁹ The authenticity of the *Hercules Oetaeus* as a Senecan play has been questioned: cf., e.g., W. H. Friedrich, “Sprache und Stil des Hercules Oetaeus,” *Hermes* 82 (1954), 51–84, and B. Axelson, *Korruptelenkult: Studien zur Textkritik der unechten Seneca-Tragödie*, Scripta minorata Reg. Soc. Human. Litt. Lund. (Lund 1967). I include it for examination here as I find that the psychology and description of uncertainty plays a similar role in it to that noted in the other Senecan tragedies.

Causam timoris ipse quam ignoro exigis.
 nihil timendum video, sed timeo tamen.
 placet ire, pigris membra sed genibus labant,
 alioque quam quo nitor abductus feror.
 sic concitatum remige et velo ratem
 aestus resistens remigi et velo refert.

Most emphatically uncertain of crimes is Atreus' murder of his brother's sons (*Thy.* 707 ff.):

ieiuna silvis qualis in Ganeticis
 inter iuvencos tigris erravit duos,
 utriusque praedae cupida quo primum ferat
 incerta morsus (flectit hoc rictus suos,
 illo reflectit et famem dubiam tenet),
 sic durus Atreus capita devota impiae
 speculatur irae. quem prius mactet sibi
 dubitat, secunda deinde quem caede immolet.
 nec interest—sed dubitat et saevum scelus
 iuvat ordinare.

The uncertainty which Senecan characters display both before and at the moment of wrongdoing is explained very clearly by a passage in Seneca's seventy-fourth epistle: "Hoc enim stultitiae proprium quis dixerit, ignave et contumaciter facere quae faciat, et alio corpus inpellere, alio animum, distrahique inter diversissimos motus" (*Epp.* 74. 32). It is just this disjunction of body and mind which we have seen Thyestes show as he approaches Argos (*Thy.* 419–20, 421–22, 434–39). Similarly, when Phaedra wishes to confess her incestuous love to Hippolytus, she finds herself physically incapable of uttering the words (*Phaed.* 602–03). Like Thyestes, she is impelled in two different directions by body and mind.

The uncertainty of Seneca's tragic characters is often described figuratively with images. Among these, the most common is that used by Thyestes to describe the physical symptoms of his uncertainty: a ship driven off course by a turbulent sea (*Thy.* 438–39). Clytemnestra and Phaedra also compare their uncertainty to the tossing of a ship on a turbulent sea (*Ag.* 138–43; *Phaed.* 179–83.):

fluctibus variis agor,
 ut, cum hinc profundum ventus, hinc aestus rapit,
 incerta dubitat unda cui cedat malo.
 proinde omisi regimen e manibus meis:
 quocumque me ira, quo dolor, quo spes feret,
 hoc ire pergam; fluctibus dedimus ratem.

vadit animus in praeceps sciens
 remeatque frustra sana consilia appetens.
 sic, cum gravatam navita adversa ratem

propellit unda, cedit in vanum labor
et victa prono puppis aufertur vado.

Medea and Deianira, like Clytemnestra (*Ag.* 138–40), compare their uncertainty to the turbulence of the sea itself (*Med.* 939–43; *Herc. Oet.* 710–12)

anceps aestus incertam rapit,
ut saeva rapidi bella cum venti gerunt
utrimque fluctus maria discordes agunt
dubiumque fervet pelagus, haut aliter meum
cor fluctuatur.

ut fractus austro pontus etiamnum tumet,
quamvis quiescat languidis ventis dies,
ita mens adhuc vexatur excusso metu.

Such imagery closely reflects that with which Seneca illustrates *inconstantia* in his prose works. Like many ancient philosophers, Seneca often appropriates commonplace imagery for the illustration of philosophical doctrine.¹⁰ Like his Stoic predecessor, Chrysippus, he finds the common poetic analogy between a ship tossed on a turbulent sea a useful one in illustrating the uncertain condition of the morally imperfect.¹¹ At *Cons. Polyb.* 9. 6, for example, he describes mankind in these words:

In hoc profundum inquietumque proiecti mare, alternis aestibus reciprocum et modo adlevans nos subitis incrementis, modo maioribus damnis deferens adsidueque iactans, numquam stabili consistimus loco, pendemus et fluctuamur et alter in alterum inlidimur et aliquando naufragium facimus, semper timemus.

Sometimes, as at *Brev. Vit.* 2. 3, he compares the sinful, tortured by their emotions, to the tossing sea itself:

Urgent et circumstant vitia . . . si quando aliqua fortuito quies contigit, velut profundum mare, in quo post ventum quoque voluntatio est, fluctuantur, nec umquam illis a cupiditatibus suis otium est.

In the light of the moral significance attached by Seneca in his prose works to the image of the tossing sea and ship, the moral significance of the same imagery in his tragedies becomes clear. Whether characters compare their uncertainty to the tossing of a ship on a turbulent sea, as Clytemnestra, Phaedra and Thyestes do, or whether they compare themselves to the turbulent sea itself, as Medea and Deianira, their imagery “brands” their uncertainty as the *inconstantia* of Stoic (and Senecan) conception.

¹⁰ Cf. my Ph.D. thesis, “The Imagery of Morality in Seneca’s Prose-Works” (McMaster University 1985), Part II.

¹¹ Cf., e.g., Plutarch, *Mor.* 450d (= *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. H. von Amim III. 390, p. 95, 10–13); *Mor.* 454a–b, 453f–454a; Epictetus, *Diss.* 2. 18. 29, 4. 3. 4.

There are few virtuous characters in Senecan tragedy, but in one case at least, the certainty of the virtuous is contrasted with the uncertainty of the morally imperfect in terms of the same sea and ship imagery. As he confronts the monster which will bring about his death, Hippolytus is compared by a messenger to a helmsman who holds his ship steady on a turbulent sea (*Phaed.* 1072–75):

at ille, qualis turbido rector mari
ratem retentat, ne det obliquum latus,
et arte fluctum fallit, haud aliter citos
currus gubernat.

Such imagery should remind us that, in his prose works, Seneca personifies Philosophy as a helmsman who “sedet ad gubernaculum et per ancipitia fluctuantium derigit cursum” (*Epp.* 16. 3). Similarly, exhorting Marcia to display Stoic *apatheia* amidst adversity, Seneca cries (*Cons. Marc.* 6. 3):

regamur nec nos ista vis transversos auferat. Turpis est navigii rector
cui gubernacula fluctus eripuit, qui fluvitania vela deseruit, permisit
tempestate ratem; at ille vel in naufragio laudandus quem obruit mare
clavum tenentem et obnixum.

The image of Hippolytus as a steadfast helmsman paints his courage in Stoic colors as the *constantia* of the *sapiens*, and places it in sharp contrast to the *inconstantia* of the characters who have compared their uncertainty to the uncontrollable tossing of a ship.

The lengthy analyses of their emotion, illustrated with epic similes, with which Senecan characters provide us, do not, as many have observed, have the ring of truth.¹² Apart from the fact that they all depict a similar state of uncertainty, their clinical objectivity and rhetorical elaboration are quite at odds with the kind of utterances we should expect from those undergoing the emotional turmoil described in them. Moreover, in light of the moral significance attached to the imagery with which they illustrate their feelings, it is clear that, with such descriptions, Senecan characters are made to condemn themselves unwittingly with consequent irony. Such description is most satisfactorily explained, therefore—to borrow a term from Tacitean scholarship—as a kind of authorial “innuendo,”¹³ by which Seneca, the dramatist, contrives to pass tacit comment on the moral significance of his characters and their actions. With complete disregard for the dramatic credibility of his characters, Seneca places in their mouths the kind of psychological description ornamented with similes with which, if he were an epic poet, he would provide his reader in his own person. Thus

¹² E.g. F. Leo, *De Senecae Tragoediis Observationes Criticae* (Berlin 1878: repr., Berlin 1963), pp. 147 ff.; J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age: from Tiberius to Hadrian*, 3rd ed. (London 1964), p. 208, and cf. T. S. Eliot (above, note 5).

¹³ I. S. Ryberg, “Tacitus and the Art of Authorial Innuendo,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 73 (1942), 383–404.

when Ovid describes the uncertainty of Althaea before wrongdoing, he does so with the same analytical detail and elaborate image that Seneca's heroines use to describe themselves (*Met.* VIII. 465–474):

Saepe metu sceleris pallebant ora futuri,
saepe suum fervens oculis dabat ira ruborem;
et modo nescio quid similis crudele minanti
vultus erat, modo quem misereri credere posses;
cumque ferus lacrimas animi siccaverat ardor,
inveniebantur lacrimae tamen. utque carina,
quam ventus ventoque rapit contrarius aestus,
vim geminam sentit, paretque incerta duobus:
Thestias haud aliter dubiis affectibus errat,
perque vices ponit positamque resuscitat iram.

If the effect of Seneca's tragedies depended on the primarily aural effects of recitation,¹⁴ description of emotion, and, more obviously, description of physical appearance in which emotion is manifest, would clearly perform a useful function in conveying to the audience meaning which might otherwise be expressed by stage action. However, I have shown that such description serves a more positive function in Senecan tragedy: it invests the characters involved with the characteristics of *inconstantia*. As such, we may compare it not only in purpose, but also in its narrative form, to the rhetorical device known as *characterismos*, the philosophical utility of which Seneca describes in his ninety-fifth epistle.¹⁵ This device, as he explains there (*Epp.* 95. 65), is a description of the *signa* and *notae*, the signs and marks, which characterize virtue and vice, for the purpose of moral instruction. In his words (*Epp.* 95. 66):

Haec res eadem vim habet quam praecipere; nam qui praecipit dicit
"illa facies si voles temperans esse," qui describit ait "temperans est
qui illa facit, qui illis abstinet." Quaeris quid intersit? Alter praecepta
virtutis dat, alter exemplar. Descriptiones has et, ut publicanorum
utar verbo, iconismos ex usu esse confiteor: proponamus laudanda,
invenietur imitator.

The repetitious description of uncertainty, underpinned by recurrent imagery, which Seneca places in the mouths of many of his characters, renders them apotropaic *characterismoi* of *inconstantia*. It exemplifies Seneca's appropriation of the narrative author's privilege to pass judgment on the thoughts and actions of his characters with a view to instructing his audience in the manner of a philosopher.

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¹⁴ But whether the effects of recitation *were* primarily aural is not certain: cf. above, note 6.

¹⁵ Cf. E. C. Evans (above, note 3), 169–84.

De Sublimitate 30. 1: An Overlooked Pointer to a Date?

J. K. NEWMAN

In an article written twenty years ago, with characteristic boldness Professor Georg Luck argued that this treatise should after all be attributed to Cassius Longinus and dated to the third century A.D.¹ His conclusions have not been accepted by everyone,² but perhaps a small pointer telling in favor of a later date at least may be derived from c. 30. 1, where the author recommends ἡ τῶν κυρίων καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶν ὄνομάτων ἐκλογή as an aid to sublimity. The text is cited from the edition of D. A. Russell (repr. Oxford 1970):

'Ἐπειδὴ μέντοι ἡ τοῦ λόγου νόησις ἡ τε φράσις τὰ πλείω δι' ἔκατέρου διέπτυκται, ίθι δή, [ἄν] τοῦ φραστικοῦ μέρους εἴ τινα λοιπά ἔτι, προσεπιθεασώμεθα. ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν ἡ τῶν κυρίων καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶν ὄνομάτων ἐκλογὴ θαυμαστῶς ἄγει καὶ κατακηλεῖ τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ ὡς πᾶσι τοῖς ρήτορσι καὶ συγγραφεῦσι κατ' ἄκρον ἐπιτίθενμα, μέγεθος ἄμα κάλλος εὐπίνειαν βάρος ισχὺν κράτος, ἔτι δὲ γάνωσίν τινα, τοῖς λόγοις ὡσπερ ἀγάλμασι καλλίστοις δι' αὐτῆς ἐπανθεῖν παρασκευάζουσα, καὶ οιονεὶ ψυχήν τινα τοῖς πράγμασι φωνητικὴν ἐντιθεῖσα, μὴ καὶ περιττὸν ἢ πρὸς εἰδότας διεξιέναι. φῶς γὰρ τῷ ὅντι ἕδιον τοῦ νοῦ τὰ καλὰ ὄνόματα.

Since thought and expression are in general closely entwined, we may now go on to consider any areas of the theory of language not yet covered. The choice of impressive (*κυρίων*) and magnificent words has an amazing effect, bewitching the audience. It is a supreme goal of all orators and

¹ "Die Schrift vom Erhabenen und ihr Verfasser," *Arctos* 5 (1967), 97–113. Cf. on the later dating G. M. A. Grube, "Notes on the ΠΕΡΙ ΥΨΟΥΣ," *American Journal of Philology* 78 (1957), 335–74; idem, *The Greek and Roman Critics* (Toronto 1965), pp. 340–42. A statement of the orthodox position about the date (first century A.D.) is made by John M. Crossett and James A. Arieti, *The Dating of Longinus*, *Studia Classica III*, University Park, Pennsylvania (undated).

² Giuseppe Martano, "Il 'Saggio sul Sublime'," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II. 32. 1 (1984), rejects Luck's thesis on p. 367, note 4, but concludes on p. 370: "Secondo noi, la controversia [i.e. over the date of the work] rimane *sub judice*, e vi rimarrà fino a quando nuovi elementi di prova (per ora di assai ipotetica reperibilità) non interverranno a risolvere il problema." It is just such an 'elemento di prova' that this essay hopes to furnish.

historians. It produces grandeur, beauty, patina, weight, strength, force, and over all these a brilliance that sheds a bloom on words as if they were the fairest sculptures. It puts a speaking soul into things. But this is something where my readers need no reminder. Beautiful words are indeed thought's own illumination.

'Ονομάτων ἐκλογή, the Latin *delectus verborum*, is an important task for the stylist, and there were at least three kinds of style. Evidently here the grand style is being recommended, and κύρια and μεγαλοπρεπή are approximate synonyms for "impressive" or "magnificent."³ Although sublimity is an effect and not a style, the author of the treatise does not always keep that distinction well in mind. He is inclined to sympathize with the doctrine prevailing among later Latin rhetoricians, and influential throughout the Middle Ages, in Renaissance criticism and even beyond, that grandeur demanded grand vocabulary. This confusion, which denies some of his own better insights, explains why he returns to the topic at the end with an attack on "low" words in c. 43, forgetting that what matters is the result and not the means, as Shakespeare's mastery of the monosyllable proves. All this has been amply documented elsewhere. Here it is enough to note that neither the Virgil who employed *communia verba* in the *Aeneid*, nor the Horace who employed *unpoetische Wörter* in his odes nor Quintilian nor Macrobius—nor eventually Dante—shared this view.⁴

If he is ready to challenge these authorities, and to show that this would result in a poetry superior to that of Virgil, Horace, Dante and Shakespeare, of course "Longinus" is entitled to ask for "impressive and magnificent words" (what Russell calls "Noble Diction") as his fourth source of sublimity, and the concomitant avoidance of the vulgar; but what he is not entitled to do is change the meaning without notice of a technical term of rhetoric, where since the time of Aristotle ὄνόματα κύρια had meant precisely the opposite of "impressive words." 'Ονόματα κύρια are not unusual words employed for an effect of special beauty and force after careful choice, as "Longinus'" μεγαλοπρεπή might suggest. They are the normal, everyday words of ordinary vocabulary. This is why they enhance clarity (*Rhetoric* 1404b5–8):

τῶν δ' ὄνομάτων καὶ ρῆμάτων σαφῆ μὲν ποιεῖ τὰ κύρια, μὴ ταπεινὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ κεκοσμημένην τάλλα ὄνόματα σσα εἴρηται
ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς.

³ It does not seem possible to translate κυρίων as referring merely to the "right" words ("Auswahl' der passenden Wörter," Luck, 110). Κύρια ὄνόματα are the right words because they are commonplace, as Aristotle's ταπεινὴ λέξις (*Poet.* 1458a 18–20, quoted below) makes absolutely clear, and that is the opposite of what is being said by "Longinus". He is concerned with καλὰ ὄνόματα.

⁴ See my *The Classical Epic Tradition* (Madison, Wisconsin 1986), pp. 244 ff.

Among nouns and verbs, those that are normal produce clarity, while the other words described in my *Poetics* produce an elevated and adorned style.⁵

The allusion to the *Poetics* is to the doctrine there of the “gloss,” the rare or archaic word that can transform a line (*Poetics* 1458a18–23):

Λέξεως δὲ ἀρετὴ σαφῆ καὶ μὴ ταπεινὴν εἶναι. σαφεστάτη μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἡ ἐκ τῶν κυρίων ὄνομάτων, ἀλλὰ ταπεινή· παράδειγμα δὲ ἡ Κλεοφῶντος ποίησις καὶ ἡ Σθενέλου. σεμὴν δὲ κοὶ ἔξαλλάττουσα τὸ ιδιωτικὸν ἡ τοῖς ξενικοῖς κεχρημένη· ξενικὸν δὲ λέγω γλώτταν καὶ μεταφορὰν καὶ ἐπέκτασιν καὶ πᾶν τὸ παρὰ τὸ κύριον.

The virtue of diction is to be clear without being flat. The greatest clarity is got by using words in their normal meanings, but such diction is flat. Examples are the poetry of Cleophon and Sthenelus. Diction that is impressive and alters the ordinary style makes use of estranged vocabulary. By “estranged” I mean the gloss, the metaphor, lengthening and everything that departs from the ordinary.

Aristotle's κύρια ὄνόματα are therefore exactly the reverse of the impressive diction secured by “glosses,” and therefore exactly the reverse of what “Longinus” means by his use of κύρια ὄνόματα. It shows a certain boldness to quarrel in this way with the master, and an even greater boldness to stand his terminology on its head without explanation or apology.

The best commentaries are provided by poets and interaction with poets. The treatise had last been edited by Franciscus Portus in 1570, and was first translated into Italian in 1575 by Giovanni di Niccolò da Falgano. There is evidence of some influence by it on practical criticism in Lorenzo Giacomini's *Oratione in lode di Torquato Tasso*, recited to the Accademia degli Alterati on March 20, 1595 and published in 1596, where we hear of Tasso's excellence

ne la elezione de le parole graui dolci aspre sonore splendide signoreggianti, e nel altezza e nel abondanza degli ornamenti . . . con sollecito studio procacciò a suoi poemi altezza efficacia e leggiadria eccellente, ma non somma chiarezza; . . .

in the choice of words that are weighty, charming, harsh, resonant, brilliant, predominant, and in the sublimity and copiousness of his refinements . . . with attentive enthusiasm he secured for his poems sublimity, effect and extraordinary grace, although not utter clarity. . . .⁶

The repeated *altezza* here already alerts us to the doctrine of ὕψος, but, in the same passage, Giacomini may also feel the ambiguity in κύριος to

⁵ My emphasis, of course.

⁶ Quoted by B. Weinberg, *History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago 1961), p. 1059, note 137. Since Weinberg calls Giacomini “an old-fashioned Alexandrian” he evidently overlooks the allusion to “Longinus”.

which reference has been made. He speaks of Tasso's "parole graui dolci aspre sonore splendide signoreggianti." Weinberg follows a beaten track in translating the climaxing last word as "overpowering": but it would be possible to set up a series of antitheses: *graui / dolci: aspre / sonore: splendide / signoreggianti*. In this case, *splendide* would refer to what Aristotle would have called "glosses,"⁷ and *signoreggianti* (*signore* = κύριος; cf. Horace's *dominantia*, below) to the opposite of this, "words in their prevailing or normal connotations." Tasso certainly was in trouble with some critics for using the latter,⁸ though whether Giacomini wholly understood the scope of his own argument is uncertain.

"Magnificent (overpowering) words" / "words in their normal connotations"—what does ὄνόματα κύρια mean? It is clear what its Latin equivalent meant for Horace in a well-known passage of the *Ars Poetica* (234–39):

Non ego inornata et dominantia nomina solum
Verbaque, Pisones, Satyrorum scriptor amabo;
Nec sic enitar tragico differre colori,
Ut nihil intersit Davusne loquatur et audax
Pythias emuncto lucrata Simone talentum,
An custos famulusque dei Silenus alumni.

When I write satyr plays, Pisones, I will not confine myself to plain and ordinary words, or make such efforts to avoid the tragic manner that there is no difference between the language of Davus the slave and pert Pythias when she has conned Simo out of a fortune; or on the other side that of Silenus, even though he is the warden and servant of a growing god.

Horace uses *dominantia* in the sense of Aristotle's τὰ κύρια (κύριος = *dominus*). *In-ornata* coupled with it makes it quite clear that the poet understands by *dominantia* words used in their "predominant," "prevailing" and hence "ordinary" meanings. *Ornatus* (κόσμος, κατασκευή) is exactly the reverse of this. Giacomini's eulogy of Tasso referred to the *altezza e... abondanza degli ornamenti* and, in a striking passage attesting the longevity of these terms, E. R. Curtius⁹ quotes Dante, who in the *Convivio* (II. 12. 24) remarked that "è la bellezza nell'ornamento delle parole," and in the *Inferno* (2. 67) praised Virgil's "parola ornata." Curtius goes on to cite a French textbook of 1787 (two years therefore before the Revolution) stating that "le style de l'orateur et celui du poète a besoin d'être orné." In his remarks on the passage of Horace quoted, C. O. Brink¹⁰ notes an isolated

⁷ *Lumina* in Latin rhetorical vocabulary: *verborum et sententiarum illa lumina quae vocant Graeci σχήματα*, Cicero, *Brutus* 79. 275. Cicero's praise of Lucretius (*multis luminibus ingenii* [= σχήματα διανοίας], *ad Q. fr.* II. 10. 3 [Watt, OCT p. 69]) should be compared with "Longinus'" φῶς . . . τοῦ νοῦ quoted above.

⁸ E. g. with L. Salviati (Weinberg, p. 1018): cf. C. P. Brand, *Torquato Tasso* (Cambridge 1965), pp. 121 ff.

⁹ *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern 1948), p. 78.

¹⁰ *Horace on Poetry: The 'Ars Poetica'* (Cambridge 1971), p. 285.

use of *dominantia* in Horace's sense even as late as the fifth century (the medical writer Caelius Aurelianus).

But ὄνόματα κύρια are for the *de Sublimitate* on a par with μεγαλοπρεπῆ! This completely contradicts both Horace and the normal, Aristotelian meaning of the Greek phrase in rhetoric and grammar.¹¹ Even Diogenes Laertius still has the normal sense (3rd century A.D.?), and of course so does Horace's contemporary Dionysius of Halicarnassus, sometimes suggested as the author of the work.

When did this change of meaning take place, and is it widespread? After no example of this expression was found in the genuine Longinus,¹² a search of the following texts for κύριον ὄνομα or its oblique cases in "Longinus'" sense was conducted with the help of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*:¹³

- (a) From corrected texts: Alexander rhetor; *Anonyma in Aristotelis artem rhetoricae commentaria*; Anonymi rhetores; Apsines rhetor; Aelius Aristides rhetor; Hermogenes rhetor; Libanius rhetor et sophista; Polybius rhetor; Sopater rhetor; *Syriani, Sopatri et Marcellini scholia ad Hermogenis Status*; Themistius philosophus et rhetor; Aelius Theon rhetor.
- (b) From uncorrected texts: Adrianus rhetor; Alexander rhetor Ephesius; Aphareus rhetor; Aristobulus Iudeus philosophus; Demetrius rhetor; Diodorus rhetor; Lesbonax rhetor; Philiscus rhetor; Polyaenus rhetor; Timolaus rhetor.

Of these texts, only the *Anonyma in Aristotelis artem rhetoricae commentaria*; Hermogenes; Sopater; and *Syriani, Sopatri et Marcellini scholia ad Hermogenis Status* offered evidence of κύριον ὄνομα or its cases:

1. *Anonyma in Aristotelis artem rhetoricae commentaria* (date unknown). The numerical references are to the pages and lines of H. Rabe's edition of *Anonymi et Stephani in artem rhetoricae commentaria* (Berlin 1896):

(a) κύρια ὄνόματα λέγει τὰς κυριολεξίας. (163. 34)

By κύρια ὄνόματα he means words used in their ordinary senses.

(b) κύρια ὄνόματα λέγει τὰ κατὰ κυριολεξίαν λαμβανόμενα· ἐκ παραλλήλου δὲ ἔλαβε τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ὡς ταῦτα ὄντα. (166. 19 ff.)

¹¹ See the entry in LSJ⁹ s. v. II. 5.

¹² Λογγίνου Τέχνη Ρητορική, in *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. L. Spengel (Leipzig 1853), I. pp. 299–320.

¹³ Grateful thanks are due to Professor Theodore Brunner and his staff at Irvine for so readily answering my query. Professor Brunner estimated from a preliminary survey that κύριος might occur about 57,000 times in the entire TLG data bank. It was therefore necessary to make a perhaps arbitrary selection in a preliminary study.

He means by κύρια ὄνόματα words used in their ordinary senses. He takes ordinary and appropriate in the same sense.

(c) σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ δεῖν ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς λόγοις κυρίοις ὄνόμασι χρᾶσθαι, διότι πάντες οἱ παλαιοὶ ρήτορες τούτοις χρῶνται· πάντες γὰρ διαλέγονται ἡτοι ἀλλήλοις συνομιλοῦσιν ἐν μεταφορικοῖς ὄνόμασι καὶ οὐ κυρίοις. (166. 24 ff.)

A proof that it is necessary to use κύρια ὄνόματα in prose is their use by all the old orators. <Nowadays> everyone converses or speaks with his neighbor in metaphorical rather than ordinary language.¹⁴

(d) δεύτερος δὲ τρόπος ποιῶν σαφήνειαν τὸ τοῖς ιδίοις καὶ κυρίοις ὄνόμασιν ἔκαστον ὄνομάζειν καὶ μὴ τοῖς περιέχουσιν ἡτοι τοῖς καθ' ὅλου, οἷον τὸν Σωκράτην. (181. 12 ff.)

A second way to gain clarity is to use appropriate and ordinary names for everything, and not periphrases or universals: for example, "Socrates."

(e) αἱ μὲν οὖν γλώτται ἡτοι αἱ διάλεκτοι εἰσὶν ἀγνῶτες ἡμῖν καὶ ἀγνωστοι, τὰ δὲ κύρια ἵσμεν ὄνόματα. (202. 15)

Glosses or dialectical usages are unknown to us and unfamiliar. Ordinary words we know.

Five examples also occur where ὄνομα κύριον means "proper name."¹⁵

2. Hermogenes (2nd–3rd century A.D.), *Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγοι*. Cf. *Hermogenis Opera*, ed. H. Rabe (repr. Stuttgart 1969), 2, p. 5, line 80.

ἔτερον δὲ εἶδος δριμύτητος τὸ ἐκ παρονομασίας, οὐκ ἔξ ὁμοιότητος, ὅταν κυρίῳ τινὶ ὄνόματι ἡ ρήματι χρησάμενοι εἴτε εὐθὺς ἐπόμενοι τούτῳ χρησώμεθα καὶ ἐφ' οὐ μὴ κύριόν ἐστι πράγματος.

A second type of sarcasm involves an unexpected play on words rather than punning. We use a noun or verb in its normal sense, and then immediately go on to apply it to something where it is not normal.

3. Sopater (4th century A.D.). Cf. *Rethores Graeci*, ed. C. Walz (Stuttgart 1835, repr. 1968). Example (a) is from the *Scholia ad Hermogenis Status seu artem rhetoricaem*. Examples (b) and (c) are from the *Διαιτρέσεις Ζητημάτων*.

(a) λέγομεν, ὅτι οὐδέποτε δύναται συστῆναι ἀνθορισμὸς μὴ προηγησαμένου ὕρου· ὁ πρῶτος τεταγμένος τὸ κύριον ἔσχε τοῦ ὄνόματος, ὁ δὲ ἐναντίος ἐκ τῆς ἐναντιότητος εἴληφε τὸ ὄνομα. (Walz 5. 152. 27).

¹⁴ This seems to be the sense. Cf. *itaque, si antiquum sermonem nostro comparemus, paene iam quidquid loquimur figura est...*, Quint. I. O. IX. 3. 1.

¹⁵ This usage is attested since Polybius. See below.

Our argument is that a counter-definition must always be preceded by a definition. The first is drawn up to contain the normal use of the name: the counter-definition gets its name from its contrariety.

(b) ἀπὸ τοῦ τολμῆματος τόντου ἔχει τὴν κλῆσιν ἀκόλουθον. ὥστ' εἰ τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ τῆς πράξεως κατ' αὐτῶν κύριον, καὶ ἡ τιμωρία μετὰ τῶν νόμων κατ' αὐτῶν κυρία εἶναι ὁφείλει ἀεί. (Walz 8. 254. 22)

He takes his sobriquet from this reckless deed, so that, if a name is validly applied to them that derives from their behavior, their legal punishment also ought always to be valid.

(c) ἡ παραγραφικὴ ἐν μὲν ἔχει τὸ κύριον ὄνομα· συνέζευκται δὲ κατὰ εὐθυδικίαν πάντως ἄλλῃ τινὶ, ἢ μιᾷ τῶν λογικῶν, ἢ μιᾷ τῶν νομικῶν. (Walz 8. 267. 31)

A plea of inadmissibility has one normal name, but is of course combined in relation to the direct plea with another depending on either a point of logic or a point of law.

4. *Syriani, Sopatri et Marcellini scholia ad Hermogenis Status* ("post A.D. saec. 7"). This is from Walz 4, page 400, lines 25–27:

ἐροῦμεν οὖν, ὅτι μάλιστα μὲν τῷ κοινῷ ὄνόματι ὡς ιδίῳ ἔχρηστο· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα τῷ τοῦ γένους ὄνόματι ὡς κυρίῳ κέχρηται.

Our explanation will be that he has preferred to use the common name as proper. There are many other cases of his use of the name of the genus as if it were specific.

The meaning of κύριον ὄνομα as "proper name," is already noted in *LSJ*⁹ for Polybius (VI. 46. 10), Apollonius Dyscolus (2 c. A.D.) and Herodian (2 c. A.D.). This is a variant of Aristotle's doctrine that the κύριον ὄνομα of anything is that by which it is normally known. The anonymous commentary on the *Rhetoric* (1. above) shows both usages. All the texts show that κύριον ὄνομα is felt as something ordinary and appropriate because it defines the prevailing usage of a particular word or term. In no case is κύριον something so unusual or impressive that it could be an aid to extraordinary or "sublime" effects. There is thus no parallel at all in the texts scanned to "Longinus" meaning. The nearest approach to that is actually listed by *LSJ*⁹ s.v. κυρίως. The adverb, which for Aristotle means "in the normal sense," is used to mean "in a special or exceptional sense" by Aristotle's commentator Olympiodorus in the 6th century A.D. But even this is not really the same as "in a magnificent sense," μεγαλοπρεπῶς, which would be needed for a complete parallel with *de Sublimitate* 30. 1.

How far "Longinus" is flying in the face of tradition is shown by his own use at 28. 1 of κυριολογία to imply "words in their ordinary sense." This meaning was hallowed by centuries of usage in the schools. Tryphon,

for example, a rhetorician dated by Walz to the time of Augustus, shows total orthodoxy:

τῆς δὲ φράσεως εἴδη εἰσὶ δύο, κυριολογία τε καὶ τρόπος. Κυριολογία μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἡ διὰ τῆς πρώτης θέσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων σημαίνουσα· οἷον. . . . (Tryphon, Περὶ τρόπων, Walz 8. 728. 5 ff.)

There are two categories of expression, literal and figurative. Literal language conveys its message by using the prime significance of words, for example. . . .

The point is then illustrated by Homer, *Iliad*. XXIII. 634–37.¹⁶

The term was used by the anonymous commentary on the *Rhetoric* and other late authors in the form κυριολεξία. Here, the *de Sublimitate* agrees with the rhetorical tradition as it still persisted in late antiquity, even in Eustathius.¹⁷ But two chapters later, as we saw, κύριος parallels μεγαλοπρεπής. Two questions arise:

- a. What triggered in the author's mind an interference so powerful that he reverses the normal meaning—normal even for himself—of the adjective κύριος in the phrase κύρια ὄνόματα? This meaning is still well established both in Hermogenes and in the *Anonyma in Aristotelis artem rhetoricae commentaria* (and for that matter almost to the end of antiquity).
- b. Can this interference, whatever its cause, have occurred as early as the first century A.D.,¹⁸ even in the reign of Augustus, as has been suggested by those who assign the treatise to Dionysius of Halicarnassus?

The answer to the second question is obviously no. How could a professor of rhetoric publish a treatise which, without apology or explanation, stands on its head the ordinary usage of a technical term of his art as evidenced by contemporary rhetoricians both in Greek and Latin? If he had been Dionysius of Halicarnassus, this would be a technical term at that which he had himself applied elsewhere in its usual sense. What would his readers have made of it? Careful and comparative reading of the *De Sublimitate* shows in fact that it heralds quite a different sensibility. In the assessment of this, its anti-Alexandrianism must be noted. Can the critic

¹⁶ The treatise attributed to Gregory of Corinth (late 12th, early 13th century) by Walz (8. pp. 763 ff.), where a similar definition and illustration of κυριολογία occurs, is regarded by K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (repr. New York 1970), I. p. 589, as earlier.

¹⁷ κυριολεξία, 624. 41; κυριολεκτέω, 623. 36; 836. 58. See *Eustathii Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, ed. M. van der Valk, II (Leiden 1976), "Praefatio," p. XLIII with note 3.

¹⁸ A. Lesky, for example, following (the unnamed) Wilamowitz, is quite sure that "Longinus" answered Caecilius of Caleacte "in A.D. 40" (*History of Greek Literature*, Eng. tr. p. 830).

who damns Apollonius with faint praise and Callimachus by indirection have been the contemporary of Virgil, Crinagoras, or even Quintilian?

The answer to the first question is more complex. In the twelfth century, Eustathius still maintains the distinction between τροπολεκτέω and κυριολεκτέω. A contrary interference so powerful in the case of "Longinus"—the more powerful the earlier he is dated—must be caused by cross-cultural factors. Already Cicero speaks of certain *verba* as *propria*, as *certa quasi vocabula rerum, paene una nata cum rebus ipsis* (*de Or.* III. 37. 149). The element of conventionality, urged in Plato's *Cratylus* by the Parmenidean Hermogenes, is beginning to be attenuated by such a theory.

This feeling was reinforced by those cultures in which the yawning gap between "word" and "reality" was less obvious than to the Greeks. The Hebrew *davar*, for example, means both λόγος and ἔργον, and Κύριος is the normal equivalent of the Divine Name in the Septuagint. "The Word(s) of the Lord" is a concept familiar to Jews and Christians in many senses except that of "ordinary," "everyday," "normal." This is to enter on a vast field,¹⁹ but in fact Jewish influence has often been noted in the treatise, apart from the Genesis quotation (9. 9). For the Hebrew mind, the name or *shem* was as closely related to the named thing as the shadow is to the body that casts it.²⁰

To theorists of this persuasion, the ἐκλογὴ κυρίων ὄνομάτων could not therefore be a simple matter of rhetorical effect. It was something more primitive, less conventional and arbitrary, since the κύρια ὄνόματα are not so much rhetorical devices as clues to the essence of what is named, conferred at the time of the invention of language. The Stoics had begun to follow this line of thought,²¹ already familiar to Plato; and Philo Judaeus (no rhetorician) provides an extraordinary example of such confusion of Hebrew religious and Greek grammatical idiom. He praises the authors of the Septuagint, for example, for the precision of their work (*de Vita Mosis* II. 38):

καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν διάλεκτος, ἡ δ' Ἐλληνικὴ διαφερόντως, ὄνομάτων πλουτεῖ, καὶ ταύτὸν ἐνθύμημα οἵον τε μεταφράζοντα καὶ παραφράζοντα σχηματίσαι πολλαχῶς, ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ἐφαρμόζοντα λέξεις; ὅπερ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς νομοθεσίας οὐ φασι συμβῆναι, συνενεχθῆναι δ' εἰς ταύτὸν

¹⁹ Of which the entry s.v. "dabar" in Botterweck / Ringgren, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, II (Stuttgart 1977), cols. 89–133 (Bergman, Lutzmann, Schmidt), gives some inkling.

²⁰ See G. Kittel, *Lexikon zum Neuen Testament*, V (Stuttgart 1950), pp. 242 ff., esp. pp. 263–64 (H. Bietenhard); Bauer–Arndt–Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago / Cambridge, 8th impression 1964), p. 574, col. 2.

²¹ . . . tamen audeamus imitari Stoicos, qui studiose exquirunt, unde verba sint ducta: Cicero, *de Off.* I. 7. 23.

κύρια κυρίοις ὄνόμασι, τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ τοῖς Χαλδαιϊκοῖς, ἐναρμο-
σθέντα εὐ μάλα τοῖς δηλουμένοις πράγμασι.

It is a commonplace that the Greek language is uniquely rich in vocabulary. It is possible to translate and paraphrase the same thought in many forms with the help of varying words. But in the case of this giving of the Law that did not happen. The Greek and Hebrew were precisely correlated, *exact word for exact word*, well adapted to the revelation given.

It might indeed be possible to translate κύρια κυρίοις ὄνόμασι here as “inspired word for inspired word,” something that for an Aristotelian would never do.

Philo contrasts this precision with the lubricity of normal Greek, where all kinds of adaptations of a single *enthumema* are possible. In another passage (*Quod det. potiori insid. soleat*, Cohn-Wendland [Berlin 1886], I. 287. 26: cf. II. 95. 8) he speaks of ἐμφαντικωτάτων καὶ κυρίων ὄνομάτων, “most expressive and exact words.” This collocation of adjectives, with its graphic (“painterly”) nuance, reminds one very much of the *de Sublimitate*. Elsewhere in Philo κύριον ὄνομα means, not the “everyday name” of some object, but the “proper name” of the Lord. *De Mutatione Nominum* 12 may be adduced:

δίδωσι καταχρῆσθαι ὡς ἂν ὄνόματι κυρίῳ τῷ “κύριος ὁ Θεός.”

He permits the use, as if it were a proper name, of the phrase “the Lord God.”

Philo approves of those [Stoic] contemporaries whom he describes as ζητητικοὶ τῶν κυρίων ὄνομάτων (“seekers after the right names”). But, if the κύριον ὄνομα was the normal nomenclature of an object, why was any search necessary?

It is one thing however to find that a name expresses the essence of a created thing, and another that it is magnificent. But if God sanctioned the names, then obviously they may share (like Moses) in His reflected glory. Philo provides both the evidence of change from the Aristotelian meaning for which we are looking, and the plus that is missing in the Stoic theory. The *de Praemiis et Poenis* marks a culmination in his re-evaluation of κύριος. On section 111 (παγκάλως χρησάμενος τοῖς ὄνόμασι κυρίοις ἄμα καὶ προσφυέσιν: “making excellent use of the right and natural names”), F. H. Colson²² lists some of Philo's varying usages of κύριον ὄνομα²³ and continues (my italics):

Here the use is extended further. “Day” is κύριον because it expresses the lesson which Philo draws more exactly than “years” for instance would, and “number” is κύριον because it brings out a similar lesson more exactly

²² Loeb Classical Library, vol. VIII (London and Cambridge, Mass. 1939), p. 457.

²³ Which may be studied in detail in J. Leisegang's indices in vol. VII of Cohn-Wendland, pp. 582–83.

than "all thy days" would. *Thus the phrase* [i.e. κύριον ὄνομα] *has been made to mean something almost the opposite of what we should call literal*

Is not this παγκάλως the root of "Longinus'" own wrench (in Formalist terminology, *sdvig*) of ὄνόματα κύρια towards μεγαλοπρεπή in the *de Sublimitate*?

It is evident that with Philo we move into a different world from that of Horace's *inornata et dominantia nomina*, even though the two were, roughly speaking, contemporaries. But, as Colson's note shows, for Philo this reversal of meaning was by no means established. His thought was still shifting and fluid. He was still engaged in arguing a case. He certainly lays the groundwork for the change of meaning found in the *de Sublimitate* but, one suspects, no more than that. He was after all a speculative thinker and philosopher, not a rhetorical technician. He was far too conscious of his Jewish heritage to be so absorbed by the Greek literary achievement.

By the time the *de Sublimitate* was written by one who evidently was a professional student of literature of any kind, and who accords no privileged status to an Old Testament example paralleled with one from the *Iliad*, the traditional meaning of the phrase κύρια ὄνόματα, sanctioned by the authority of Aristotle, hallowed by centuries of rhetorical teaching, and presumed by Philo's polemic against Greek glibness, must have begun, in certain quarters at least, to fade. Now it could mean the word that penetrated to the very heart of the thing named, that gave as it were the Creator's perspective, "putting a speaking soul (ψυχὴ φωνητική) into things." *Bereshith* (2. 7) related that God had breathed into Adam the breath of life, and that he thus became a "living soul," *nepesh hajjāh*; in the Septuagint ψυχὴ ζῶσα. But, in "Longinus", where the sublime artist with words becomes himself a kind of creator, bringing the bloom of life to his sculptures,²⁴ ψυχὴ φωνητική also seems a loaded expression, and the unexpected use of *nepesh* on the Qumran scrolls to mean "throat as the organ of speech" (= "speaking soul") may be dimly at work in the phraseology of the Greek.²⁵ Philo had commended Moses' modesty as an orator, but made God answer him (*De Vita Mosis* I. 84):

²⁴ The imagery is already known to Pindar. Cf. *Nem.* 5. 1 ff., and J. K. Newman / F. S. Newman, *Pindar's Art* (Hildesheim 1984), pp. 114–18.

²⁵ *Nepesh* normally denotes in Hebrew the throat as breathing, or as eating, hungering, desiring, rather than speaking. But "My *nepesh* (= "throat" = ψυχὴ) roars so as to praise Thy name" is quoted from the Qumran finds (11QPSA19. 8) in Botterweck–Ringgren–Fabry, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* V (1986), col. 553 (H. Seebass). Seebass adds that the verb here is appropriate to a lion (cf. Pindar's ὠρυσσεῖ, *OI.* 9. 109, with which LSG⁹ compare LXX Ps. 37 [38]: 9). He also notes expressions from the scrolls such as "With my whole *leb* and my whole *nepesh* I bless / glorify Thee."

ἀρα γε ἀγνοεῖς, εἶπε, τὸν δόντα ἀνθρώπῳ στόμα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα γλῶτταν καὶ ἀρτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἄπασαν λογικῆς φωνῆς ὄργανοποιίαν; αὐτός εἰμι ἐγώ.

Do you not know, he said, the One who gave to man a mouth, and who formed the tongue and throat and all the instrumentality of rational discourse? It is I Myself.

The notion of the “speaking soul” seems very close to this.²⁶

A Hellenized Jew in Philo's tradition would understand that a ψυχὴ φωνητικὴ fresh from praising the Name of the Lord Most High (τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ὑψίστου) and now imitating His creative act in words could not use in its sublime task Aristotle's kind of ὄνόματα κύρια. Μεγαλοπρεπή would alone be appropriate, since the Lord alone is great, and that is what κύρια would now have to mean. The implicit theory of artistic creativity reminds one of Pygmalion, most familiar from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, although even he needed the help of Aphrodite. Orthodox Jewish unease with the idol and even with the golem, which had no φωνή, may be contrasted.²⁷

The author of the *de Sublimitate* was not the genuine Longinus, since in the passage compared by Luck²⁸ with *de Subl.* 30. 1 precisely the characteristic element is missing. For the same reason, he was not a Greek, even though he had received (like St. Paul) an excellent Greek education. He brings different attitudes to literature, as his preoccupation with the ultimately religious term *ekplexis* shows. Yet he does not for all that question the primacy or paradigmatic status of Greek literature. He was not therefore a cultural partisan, like Philo or even Josephus in the first century. He wrote at a time when traditional rhetorical ideas and even terminology were open to radical modification. He was not however a *vox clamantis in deserto*. He expected his readers to “need no reminder” (μὴ καὶ περιττὸν ἢ πρὸς εἰδότας διεξιέναι). The recipient of the treatise was obviously not meant to be puzzled by his redefinition of κύριος. In Greek, the *Umdeutung* may possibly be signalled by the time of Olympiodorus, even though the Aristotelian meaning persisted in the Christian Bishop Eustathius (†1194?); and in the Latin tradition the original sense of Horace's *dominantia verba* is

²⁶ Isocrates had already described language as man's most distinguishing characteristic (*Antidosis* 293–94). We cannot wholly separate the Greek and the non-Greek in ideas, any more than we can do that in vocabulary.

²⁷ Cf. OT Ps. 115:4 and, in the same tradition, εἴδωλα ἄφωνα, NT 1 Ep. Cor. 12:2. The golem, particularly associated with Rabbi Löw in 16th century Prague (his memory still persists at the old Jewish Synagogue there), but known long before him, was also dumb. The clay sparrows in *The Infancy Story of Thomas*, by contrast, “went away chirping” (Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, Volume I, Eng. tr. R. McL. Wilson [Philadelphia 1963], p. 393), and this of course is the point of an anecdote that appears to baffle exegetes. Contrast the typically religious “amazement” that ensues in the apocryphal Gospel narrative.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, 110, citing Spengel Τέχνη Ῥητορική, p. 304 = p. 558 W.

still preserved in the fifth century. An enquiry opens of wide compass, but for the moment what it all suggests is that we should look for as late a date for the *de Sublimitate* as is compatible with the other evidence, and for its author in one of the schools of rhetoric scattered during the Empire around the lands of the Middle East, though not too far from one land to be unruffled, in spite of Greek sophistication, by *ruakh elohim*.²⁹

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²⁹Cf. ἐκβολὴ τοῦ δαιμονίου πνεύματος, 33. 5.

M. Minucius Felix as a Christian Humanist

MICHAEL VON ALBRECHT

I. Life, Work and Chronology

M. Minucius Felix, a lawyer in Rome, was born perhaps in North Africa, a region Juvenal calls the "nurse of barristers" (7. 148). Indeed the names Minucius gives to the interlocutors of his dialogue *Octavius*¹ are attested epigraphically in North Africa; moreover, Caecilius, the defender of paganism, mentions Fronto, who attacked the Christians, and calls him his countryman from North African Cirta (9. 6). Finally, the fact that the book has been handed down to us as the so-called "eighth book" of Arnobius suggests that the archetype was an edition of North African authors. As for the date, the *Octavius* was written between A.D. 160 and 250, for on the one hand Minucius quotes Fronto (9. 6; 31. 2), and on the other hand he is cited by Novatian, Sixtus and St. Cyprian. There are points which support a date after 197,² i.e. after Tertullian's *Apologeticum*: St. Jerome (*epist.* 70. 5) places Tertullian before Minucius; Lactantius, however, mentions him after Tertullian, but does not aim at a chronological order (*inst.* 5. 1. 21). Since Tertullian proves quite independent in many other cases, he is not likely to have adhered to Minucius³ so closely. On the other hand Minucius, provided that he is the later author, follows the same principle in imitating Tertullian as he does in his adaptations of Cicero and Plato.⁴

The importance attached to Ciceronian and Vergilian quotations reminds us today more of Novatian and St. Cyprian than of Tertullian. The use of Ciceronian style, being typical of dialogue as a literary genre, is not

¹ Text: J. Beaujeu's edition of Minucius Felix (with a French translation and a commentary, Paris 1964). English translation with a commentary: G. W. Clarke, New York and Pyramus 1974 (*Ancient Christian Writers* 39).

² A. v. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, 2. Theil, *Die Chronologie*, 2. Bd., *Die Chronologie der Literatur von Irenaeus bis Eusebius* (Leipzig 1904), pp. 324–30.

³ B. Axelson, *Das Prioritätsproblem Tertullian-Minucius Felix* (Lund 1941: *Skrifter utgivna av vetenskap-societeten i Lund* 27).

⁴ C. Becker, *Der Octavius des Minucius Felix, Heidnische Philosophie und frühchristliche Apologetik*, *Sitzungsberichte* (München 1967), p. 2.

chronological evidence; but the fact that Minucius decided to adopt the form of dialogue (instead of the apologetical *libellus*) might give us a chronological hint. More important are the historical reasons: The Christian religion has penetrated into the sphere of Roman magistrates and martyrdom is no longer an immediate problem but a subject of philosophical and literary reflection (37); such an attitude is not likely to be adopted in times of persecution. Minucius' remarks on the emperor and the Roman Empire (25 ff.) are more contemptuous than Tertullian's and more typical, indeed, of a period of decay. The stress laid on philosophy at the cost of Christian dogma makes sense only in the third century. Another *terminus post quem* might be the foundation of the Scrapeum in Rome under the rule of Caracalla (2. 4; 21. 3). The fact that Minucius is spiritually somewhat close to Arnobius is a further argument for dating him rather late, in particular under the reign of Alexander Severus, or between Maximinus Thrax and Decius.

Here someone might object that Fronto's attack must have been more recent if it is mentioned by Minucius. The answer would be that in antiquity Fronto had been a well-known author for a very long time, and, consequently, we are not compelled to consider him a contemporary of Minucius. Moreover, African authors are fond of quoting their countrymen, even when there are chronological or ideological barriers. Consider Augustine's references to Apuleius. It is then that the provinces begin to develop a literary and artistic life of their own. Finally Christian apologists often answer pagan attacks only after a delay of decades, as happened with Origen and Celsus.⁵

II. Art and Reality⁶

It is true that the *Octavius* is meant to be a literary work of art in the tradition of the philosophical dialogue, not a mere record of a conversation that actually had taken place. However, the laws themselves of the literary genre encourage the introduction of real persons, whether they are friends of the author or representatives of an earlier generation. The death of a friend, used as an occasion on which to raise a literary monument for him, is in itself part of a literary tradition; nevertheless, the tradition does not exclude sincerity in the individual case. In general, ancient writers do not like mere fiction. They prefer formulating their personal experiences in terms of their literary experiences, and thereby conferring a more general resonance on them.

⁵ We cannot judge of *De Fato Contra Mathematicos*, a book ascribed to Minucius; its authenticity was doubted by St. Jerome for stylistic reasons (Jerome, *vir. ill.* 58, *PL* 23, p. 669; cf. *epist. 70. 5 Ad Magnum*, ed. J. Labourt [Paris 1953], T. 3, p. 214).

⁶ Excellent in Beaujeu, pp. xxiii–xxxi.

Another question, quite independent of the problem of historical truth, is the assimilation and transformation of things observed and experienced into a literary context. Minucius draws sensitive pictures of children (2. 1; 3. 5 ff.), and creates even more sophisticated portraits of adults. Octavius, the defender of Christianity, is a typical father, combining kindness with severity; his humor is generally urbane, although occasionally somewhat rustic (28. 9). First he challenges his partner by a slightly provincial puritanism; then he converts him by philosophical arguments. On the other hand, the pagan Caecilius is lively, even passionate and full of juvenile revolt at first; then he yields in a fair way and is firmly determined to convert his rhetorical defeat into a moral victory over himself. We shall return to the surprising but realistic mixture of philosophical skepticism and devotion to religious tradition in his character.

Now we have to consider how the dialogue fits into its epoch. At that time Christian apologetic writing in a dignified literary form was something new, and it made its appearance in Latin literature first. Minucius' claim to create a "classical" work of art, competing with Cicero and Plato, was a pretension unknown to the Greek apologists of that time. In that epoch, the Christian religion began to penetrate into the higher ranks of Roman society and strove to win an educated public. Anyone who knows the innate sensitivity of the Latin race in matters of language and their idolatry of formal perfection will understand that there were only very few educated Romans who voluntarily submitted themselves to the linguistic torture of reading the Bible in the raw Latin of Jerome's forerunners. It is obvious, consequently, that a book like the *Octavius* was in great demand as a means for converting the educated.

III. Literary Genre, Sources, and Models

Tertullian, the great pioneer of Christian Latin literature and the immediate predecessor of Minucius, had stood somehow in his own light. His too subtle paradoxes were liable to convince insiders, rather than outsiders. His passionate metaphorical language made his work difficult to the point of obscurity, the heaviest of reproaches to a Latin author. In addition, even benevolent readers were deterred from reading his work because of his sectarianism. The variety and richness of Tertullian's work show that Christian Latin literature was *in statu nascendi*, but it also reflects the experimental stage of the corresponding Greek literature. This stage of "expansion" is followed by a period of "contraction," in which Minucius Felix restricts himself to a limited number of subjects; as far as choice of models is concerned, he prefers the Latin tradition. In this case a perfect artistic achievement occurs earlier in Latin Christian literature than in Greek. Equally, at the end of the patristic epoch, we shall find a literary achievement unparalleled in Greek literature, the *Consolatio* of Boethius. According to the judgment of many Hellenists, Atticism exerted a disastrous

influence on Greek literature by paralyzing its creative forces and reducing it to poverty. It is not up to us to decide if this is the full truth, even for the Greeks; Latin authors, struggling for a good style and emulating Cicero and other great authors, certainly undergo a strong discipline which is stimulating at the same time. So the rise of new classical books on Christian topics is favored.

The scientific level of argument and the artistic aspects of form, as well as the character of language and style, depend to some extent on literary genre. The choice of the philosophical dialogue, not used earlier by Christians against paganism, implies for a Latin author competition with Cicero. The problem especially concerns his five books *De natura deorum* because of their theological subject, and his dialogue *Hortensius* because of its being a "protrepticus." Even the use of a proper name as a title reminds us of this model. The two works of Cicero just mentioned will be preferred by Christian readers even later. Arnobius will declare that fanatical pagans ought to insist on burning the *De natura deorum* since by that book the Christian truths are confirmed (*adv. nat.* 3. 7). Augustine's first conversion will be due to his reading Cicero's *Hortensius* (*conf.* 3. 4. 7). So Minucius' choice of texts exerts an important influence on the Christian understanding of Cicero.⁷

Let us now enter into some particulars. The introduction, evoking the late friend, recalls the beginning of the second book *De oratore*; the technique of setting is reminiscent of *De legibus*. A dialogue which contains a warning against being seduced by specious arguments is inserted between the two speeches. This technique can be traced back to Plato (*Phaedo* 88b–90b). In addition, the *Octavius* follows a younger literary tradition⁸ of oratorical contest in the presence of an umpire. Only since the end of the first century A.D. have umpires appeared in dialogues; authors were either following bucolic tradition or imitating real life. We find a hint of it in the Tacitean *Dialogus* (4.2–5.2), and more elaborate examples in Plutarch.⁹ In the *Attic Nights* of Gellius (18. 1), one of Plutarch's friends, Favorinus of Arles, a renowned rhetorician of the second century A.D., acts as an umpire between a Stoic and a Peripatetic philosopher in a dispute on happiness. As in the *Octavius* the place of action is Ostia, and between the two speeches a short dialogue is inserted. Favorinus is a skeptic like Caeceilius in the *Octavius*; one of his admirers is Fronto.

By his choice of setting and his insertion of the short dialogue Minucius seems to emphasize his opposition to Fronto's circle. Indeed, Fronto, a central figure of literary life in the second century, had attacked the

⁷ I. Opelt, "Ciceros Schrift *De natura deorum* bei den lateinischen Kirchenvätern," *Antike und Abendland* 12 (1966), 141–55.

⁸ W. Baehrens, "Literarische Beiträge," *Hermes* 50 (1915), 456–63; Beaujeu, pp. xx ff.

⁹ *Quaestiones convivales* 1. 2. 2, 615E; 9. 15. 1, 747B; *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* 15, 1096F; *Amatorius* 3, 750A.

Christians, a fact explicitly mentioned by Minucius (9. 6; 31. 2). Was it a special speech against the Christians¹⁰ or only an incidental attack? The delay of Minucius' answer, combined with the fact that Fronto is quoted only casually, suggests the first supposition: there is every reason to believe that it was a very well-known and important book by the rhetorician. If this is true, Latin literature gained a lead over the Greek in the field of anti-Christian polemics. This perspective is surprising only at first glance and fits without difficulty into that bilingual epoch. We may add as a parallel the fact that the *Octavius*, the first literary dialogue between a Christian and a pagan, was written in Latin too.

Minucius almost exclusively uses Latin authors. Along with Cicero and the tradition of Latin dialogue mentioned above, Seneca is a source of moral philosophy. For example, in chapters 36 ff., *De providentia* is used repeatedly. I am not sure if it is necessary to suppose a *florilegium* of Seneca in order to explain the stack of references to Seneca which will be found again in Lactantius.¹¹ Of course Minucius Felix also knew African authors, for he cites Apuleius' *De deo Socratis* (37. 9).

As for Greek apologists,¹² in spite of numerous similarities of theme, there are almost no positive verbal reminiscences. The reason may be that Minucius follows a different aim. It is true that the form of dialogue was used occasionally in anti-Jewish polemics. (Ariston of Pella wrote a dialogue between Jason and Papiskos about Christ, and Justin was the author of a dialogue with Tryphon.) It was also used perhaps in anti-heretical literature,¹³ but Minucius is not at all likely to have known those writings. Usually the Greek apologies adopt the form of the *libellus*, a request to the legal authorities to end the persecution. There is no point in using this form in a time of religious peace. In fact, the *Octavius* is more a *protrepticus* than a juridical apology. Likewise, the content of such apologies does not serve Minucius' purpose. Aristeides and Theophilos refer to unclassical sources (Jewish authors) and give lengthy quotations from the Bible. Tatian even attacks Greek culture. One may add that at the time the rather modest quality of Greek apologetic writings was not a suitable model for an author who laid claim to higher literary standards. Once more, it was a Latin author who exerted a decisive influence on Minucius in this field, namely Tertullian.

¹⁰ P. Frassinetti, "L'orazione di Frontone contro i Cristiani," *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 2 (1949), 238–54.

¹¹ P. Courcelle, "Virgile et l'immanence divine chez Minucius Felix," *Mullus, Festschrift Th. Klausner* (Münster 1964: = *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband 1), pp. 34–42.

¹² Clarke, transl. p. 26.

¹³ The debate between Manes and Archelaos, for instance, was written before 350, and therefore much later than the *Octavius* (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten 3 Jahrhunderte*, vol. 16, Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, ed. Ch. H. Beeson [Leipzig 1906¹]. I am very grateful to L. Koenen for calling my attention to this book).

Greek philosophers are often mentioned by Minucius. He is also our only witness for some doxographical material, but, as we can infer from some of his misunderstandings, he had not read those authors, except certain passages from Plato and Xenophon. Much evidence for the history of philosophy was taken from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, but the purpose had been skilfully changed. Minucius chose the main literary form of academic skepticism in order to combat skepticism. Agreements between Minucius and Clement of Alexandria suggest a dependence on Posidonius or a similar intermediate source with which Minucius complemented his Ciceronian model. Maybe it is easier to suppose a doxographical book or a *florilegium*. The most striking fact in this survey is perhaps the lack of direct quotations from the Bible; there are only allusions. This is owing to the purpose of the *Octavius*, which we shall consider later.

IV. Literary Technique

Before labelling the *Octavius* as a "mosaic" and condemning it, we have to consider the principles which determine its structure.¹⁴ It is only in this context that we can grasp the function of its imitations. According to rhetorical principles, two contrary standpoints are explained in two parallel speeches. But though both speeches are constructed roughly in the same way, Minucius avoids pedantic symmetry. So the Christian's discourse is not only longer, but Octavius goes beyond the issues raised by the pagan by setting them in a wider context (see especially 19–20.1; 21–24; 26.8–27). Since they attempt to re-evaluate such terms as "religion" and "superstition," those digressions prove to be indispensable. In the same way as the two speeches, the introduction and the setting are connected with the book as a whole. This intention is manifest in the striking repetition of crucial terms. To the pagan "religion" is a synonym for paganism, and "superstition" a synonym for Christianity, and yet the same words have the opposite meaning for the Christian. If we compare the last sentences of the two speeches, the words are almost identical, the meanings opposite (13. 5 with 38. 7). The correspondence of the last sentences announces the conversion of the pagan. He will even be able to maintain his first statement, after the key words have acquired a new and deeper sense. The same words are stressed at the end of the preface (1. 5): Octavius leads Caecilius from "superstition" to "true religion" (*vera religio*). In its context this does not mean the "only true religion," but religion in the full sense of the word. The adjective is not merely a laudatory epithet but a differentiating one [similarly elsewhere, Minucius, speaking of "true" freedom (38), changes the traditional meaning of the word].

Such repetitions of key words help us to understand the unity of the *Octavius*; but they are also characteristic of the changes of the dialogue as a

¹⁴ C. Becker, above, note 4.

genre. While Cicero in his dialogues tries to be impartial (though not succeeding so far as Epicureanism is concerned) and does not pretend to be a missionary, for Minucius the dialogue culminates in the conversion; this is an advantage from the dramatic point of view. Thus a real change of attitude arises from the theoretical discussion.

The kiss by which Caecilius pays homage to the pagan god Serapis (2. 4) is an important link between the setting and the book as a whole. By this gesture the theme of the book, religion and superstition, is symbolized. It immediately provokes Octavius' reproach (3. 1) and ultimately the debate (cf. 4. 3 ff.). Finally it finds its match in Caecilius' embracing the Christian religion. Similarly, the key word "wisdom" occurs in the introduction (1. 4), the setting (3. 2; 4. 4), and at the end (40. 1), partly accompanied by its antonym "error." The artistic unity is enhanced by the elaborate framework and by the effects of perspective. There are three chronological levels in the preface: the present (Minucius as an elderly man who lost his friend Octavius), a remote past (Minucius and Octavius as young people), and a past closer to the present (the visit of Octavius and the conversion of Caecilius). Thus, the time of the dialogue is symmetrically framed by two more periods of time, while the friendship with Octavius lasted through all three epochs of the author's life. This kind of framing favors a sympathetic approach and aesthetic distance at the same time.¹⁵

Another hint that helps the reader to understand the artistic design of the *Octavius* is given by the author, who sometimes unmasks himself. Obviously, the pagan's ideas oscillate between theoretical atheism and practical acceptance of the traditional cults. It is true that this attitude is psychologically probable and even typical of the mentality of educated people of that time, but nevertheless Octavius needs only to point out this manifest inconsistency in order to be sure of winning the game. Minucius not only notices that problem; he even stresses it in an ironical way. He makes Octavius ask himself if the talk of Caecilius has been muddled on purpose, or if it stumbles by mistake (16. 1). For a moment, the reader becomes the accomplice of the author who between the lines prides himself on his predilection for Christianity. (Compare the literary Minucius in the inserted talk, the one-sidedness of which was rightly challenged by Caecilius.) This re-evaluation of partiality is symptomatic of the change of dialogue as a genre from Cicero to Minucius, who gives a new orientation to traditional material.

The author's design also causes important changes of form and style. In this respect, the passages which we can compare with Tertullian are most eloquent. Crude naturalism is avoided, sentences lacking in symmetry are harmonized, rough syntax is smoothed. Minucius is fond of *dicola* and

¹⁵ Different levels of action are also found in the setting: the serious contest is playfully anticipated in the world of children (cf. the vocabulary of contest and victory in chapters 3 and 40).

tricola, and of *chiasmus* and *parallelism*. Even more characteristic is his use of *asyndeta* with a lively effect (3. 6; 20. 5; 7. 6; 17. 5) and significant *hyperbata*, which concentrate complex meaning into a single artistic unit ("et illam oculorum etiam in seriis *hilaritatem*," 4. 2). Since Minucius follows the rules of classical prose rhythm very strictly, even monotonously, it is all the more difficult to reconstruct the text of Fronto he had attacked. In fact, because of his ideas on Latin style, Minucius cannot but change each sentence of his model. While Fronto is fond of rare and unfamiliar words, Minucius tries to avoid them. That applies even to technical terms of Christian theology. It is true that his Latin is not quite Ciceronian (the verb *effigiare*, for instance, is first attested in the writings of his African countryman Apuleius) and other expressions are colloquial, archaic, or poetic (especially in the descriptions of nature). On the whole, however, Minucius' language¹⁶ is both modern and classical, both up to date and timeless. His liking for excessive symmetry reveals the hand of a late writer; yet, many expressions, pregnant with meaning and full of freshness, give evidence of a technique that has reached the level of art.

The metaphors are chosen carefully; according to the missionary purpose, symbols that are common to pagans and Christians are found at crucial points of the text. In the introduction, while speaking of his own conversion, Minucius uses the venerable language of Greek mysteries to give a background for the conversion of his friends: "When I emerged from the depths of darkness to the light of wisdom and truth" (1. 4). These metaphors which are frequently used in antiquity (even by Lucretius, e.g. III. 1) take on a new meaning when pronounced by a Christian (baptism being literally a process of diving and emerging), without giving offence to the pagan reader.

The same may be said of the allegory of fighting, which equally fits the Stoic sage and the Christian martyr (37). Another example is the metaphor of gold proved by fire (36. 9; Sen., *Prov.* 5. 10 and NT I Petr. 1:6). If Octavius occasionally chooses a vulgar metaphor (28. 9), this suits well his being characterized as an "offspring of Plautus' race, the foremost of bakers" (14. 1). But the passage is also significant in itself, since Serapis, the god of a mystery religion competing with Christianity, is the target of the crude joke. The unholy *flatus ventris* is certainly meant to counterbalance the pious kiss thrown by Caecilius to Serapis. It becomes evident that in the course of the dialogue paganism is degraded from "religion" to "superstition." Likewise, the almost imperceptible process of devaluation of heathen philosophy culminates in the bold caricature of Socrates as a clown from Attica (38. 5). Equally, the strong metaphor *erupit* ("he burst out") is kept for Caecilius' utterances (16. 5; 40. 1), a feature in harmony

¹⁶ Valuable comments on language and style: E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, vol. I (Lund 1928, 1956²), pp. 192, 256, 342; vol. II (Lund 1933), p. 384, note 1; idem, *Vermischte Studien zur lateinischen Sprachkunde und Syntax* (Lund 1936), pp. 74, 83, 148.

with his volcanic temper and the suddenness of his conversion. Thus the range of stylistic devices and rhetorical colors used by Minucius is by no means poor; just because he uses the brighter colors more rarely, their effect in the context is all the more striking.

V. Philosophical and Religious Aspects

Minucius is the only Christian apologist not to enter into Christological problems; he does not even mention the name of Christ. He confines himself to the items of monotheism, divine providence, the purity of Christian life, and the immortality of the soul (34. 8). We shall come back to the motives for this reserve.

Like many other Church Fathers before the middle of the third century, Minucius is strongly influenced by Stoic philosophy, a fact due not only to Tertullian's impact. Chrysippus' theology and his physical interpretation of myths are best transmitted to us by Minucius (19. 11). He is the only witness for the philosophy of Persaios of Kition (21. 2). He paints the clearest picture of an attempt to connect the Stoic doctrine of *ecpyrosis* (the destruction of the world through fire) with the Biblical concept of the end of the world (34); his praise of creation as a proof of the existence of God is particularly striking (17). He is the only author to mention Britain as an example of divine providence, since the lack of sunshine there is recompensed by the warmth of the sea [an allusion to the Gulf Stream, taken undoubtedly from a Stoic author (18. 3)]. Together with the Stoics, Minucius thinks that in the best of all worlds everything is arranged at its best and for man's best good—a kind of anthropocentric optimism that had seemed rather problematic to a man like Kelsos. Just like the Stoics and even more than Tertullian, Minucius lays stress on the fact that man is intimately connected with the universe and with God (11. 1; 17. 2), an idea he has in common with Gnostics and Middle Platonists (*Asclepius* 10). In a Stoic vein (though in opposition to the supercilious intellectual arrogance of Caecilius), Octavius declares (18. 11) reason and perception to be given to all human beings without any difference, an opinion expressed already by Tertullian (*Apol.* 17. 5–6). Moral items (such as the virtue of martyrs, poverty, the worthlessness of the theatre) are treated in the manner of the Stoic and Cynic diatribe. The idea that our hearts must be the temple of God and the place for true worship (32) harmonizes with Stoic (*Sen.*, fr. 123 Haase) and Epicurean thought (*Lucr.* V. 1198–1203). Another feature Minucius shares with these schools of thought is his so-called materialism in spiritual matters, the lack of ability or readiness to consider spirit as something totally immaterial and abstract. Although he uses Stoic arguments to prove the existence of divine providence, Minucius, who believes in free will, rejects Stoic determinism.

Plato also plays an important role—a fact which, by the way, favors dating Minucius in the transitional stage between the "Stoic" and the

"Platonic" period of patristic thought, which is the second quarter of the third century A.D. The short dialogue inserted between the two speeches, the form and content of which are influenced by Plato, is used by Minucius Felix to attack academic skepticism. The Christian author reverses the function of Velleius' "Epicurean" catalogue of philosophers (as it is to be found in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*). Minucius gives it not only a positive purpose but also a new culmination by quoting Plato, who is assigned a place of honor among the precursors of Christianity. Finally, Middle Platonism seems to have exerted an influence also on Minucius' anthropology and demonology.

On the whole, our author advocates a very moderate attitude toward pagan philosophy, more similar to Justin and Athenagoras than to Tertullian (not to mention Theophilus of Antioch). Nevertheless, during the dialogue there is some change in this respect. First, Minucius contents himself with stating agreements (34. 8), but he is not unaware of the differences (cf. 19. 15 the qualification expressed through *fere*). In principle, the superiority of revelation is presupposed already in 19. 4 and 15; yet the denigration of worldly wisdom is prepared for very cautiously, with criticism becoming more pointed only towards the end.

In a similar way, the concept of wisdom changes. Being a clever psychologist, Minucius does not insist on the paradoxes of faith, which are not likely to convince outsiders, but he makes the pagan Caecilius raise the question of "wisdom." Just because of its ambiguity, this word is a useful starting point for a dialogue (for instance, it has a Christian meaning in 16. 5). Like Minucius himself (1. 4), Caecilius will get rid of his "blindness" (*caecus*, cf. 3. 1; 4. 3) and achieve wisdom and insight into truth. Because of this metamorphosis, the oratorical contest becomes a dramatic process, in the course of which the pagan unmasks his own intellectual arrogance. In the beginning of the contest he presumes to defend wisdom and to teach the uneducated, conceited Christians to know themselves. Later on, however, he becomes enraptured with his own eloquence and falls into a naive pride, which gives the lie to his talk on modesty. Seen against the background of Caecilius' presumption, the thesis of Octavius, which represents wisdom as innate in all human beings, has a specifically Christian ring (which it may lose if detached from its context). In this way the dialogue gains a philosophical meaning as an intellectual process. Hence we are supposed to respect the specific function of elements in their context without emphasizing doctrines in isolation.

What is the role of philosophy in our dialogue? Minucius explicitly states that the terms "Christians" and "philosophers" are equivalent (20. 1), and thus he varies Plato's famous saying about kings and philosophers, in the spirit of Justin or Athenagoras. This alliance with philosophy offers considerable advantages in the discussion with paganism. On the one hand, a long time ago Greek philosophy had furnished several more or less critical approaches to pagan religion: first, the allegorical interpretation of mythical

persons as natural phenomena, as was done by the philosophers from the sixth century B.C. to the Stoics; second, the rationalistic and historical reinterpretation of gods as great men, as represented by Euhemerus; third, moralistic criticism of myths, as attested from Xenophanes and Plato onwards; finally, the integration of gods into a hierarchy of demons in the style of the Middle Platonists.

On the other hand, there was an eminently positive argument. At that time most of the philosophical schools had embraced monotheism as a scientific theory and described piety, not in terms of ritual, but of moral attitude. Many educated pagans, while theoretically accepting monotheism, in practice stuck to polytheism. In that situation the Christians who, along with the Jews, were the only ones to profess a monotheistic religion, had every reason to share a common cause with the philosophers and to recommend their religion as the only one scientifically proven and acceptable. Far from being a representative of liberal theology, an antique Renan, Minucius expounded his beliefs in a rationalistic way because the historical situation and the mentality of educated readers imposed it on him. Hence, the absence of direct quotations from the Bible is no proof of Minucius' ignorance in theological matters; he just chooses an "exoteric" form of preaching to reach all people of good will. While other Christians usurp the role of philosophers and sophists in a more popular way, down to the adaptation of the philosophers' beards and their miraculous legends, Minucius challenges scientific discussion.

Let us finally have a look at the philosophical and religious ideas truly alive in Minucius' day. Not long before him lived Sextus Empiricus. Thus, in the domain of philosophy, the Skeptics, not the Stoics or the "dogmatic" Platonists, are his real enemies. Hence the final assault against their alleged ancestor, Socrates. In the field of religion, neither the brilliant attacks against ancient Roman religion, which had long been moribund, nor those against Greek mythology, which had almost completely turned into literature, are really relevant. The dangerous rivals of Christian religion are first the cult of the emperor, a hazardous item that Minucius cautiously avoids, and second the gods of mysteries, among whom he chooses Serapis as the object of his derision. By dating the conversion at the grape harvest, a time preferred for initiations to the mysteries of Isis,¹⁷ Minucius seems to give an additional hint of his polemical attitude towards a cult very much in favor at that time in Africa and Rome.

VI. Tradition and Influence

Later stories of conversions [St. Cyprian's (*ad Donatum* 1), Augustine's,¹⁸

¹⁷ P. Courcelle, *Les Confessions de Saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire. Antécédents et postérité* (Paris 1963), p. 122.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 121 ff.

Ennodius' (334)] can hardly be understood without Minucius as a model. Also his reading of Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* and *Hortensius* has found followers. Lactantius is greatly indebted to him; St. Jerome passes judgment on his style; in modern times, Minucius is especially appreciated by Renan.¹⁹

The dialogue *Octavius* has been handed down to us as the "eighth (*octavus*) book of Arnobius" in a ninth-century manuscript (Paris. 1661), which is handsome but full of errors. A copy of it to be found in Brussels is of little use. The excerpts in a book ascribed to St. Cyprian (*Quod idola dii non sint*²⁰) are more helpful for establishing the text. In chapter 18. 8 for instance, Pseudo-Cyprian supplies the original words *tactu purior est*, which are lacking in the manuscripts.

VII. Conclusion

Minucius opens a new era in Latin apologetic writing. Intellectually, he is more closely related to Arnobius and Lactantius than to Tertullian. So far as the content is concerned, it is less important for Minucius to answer the current reproaches against Christianity than to appeal to philosophical thought and culture in a positive sense. He is aware of the Roman tradition and of his educated Roman public. In dogmatic affairs, his reticence is equally due to his public; consequently, some generations later it is no longer understood. It seems high time to stress the "scientific" approach of Minucius' "untheological" way of preaching. He is no deist. As for the literary aspects of his work, it announces a first, real renaissance of Cicero's philosophical works. In Minucius' *Octavius*, Christian apologetic writing comes to an artistic, harmonious, almost classical form. If this happens for once earlier in Latin literature than in Greek, it is because of the especially persistent tradition of the Latin dialogue.

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¹⁹ *Octavius*, introd. e commento a cura di M. Pellegrino (Torino, Soc. Ed. Internaz. 1947), pp. 49 ff. (= E. Renan, *Marc-Aurèle et la fin du monde antique*, ed. Calmann-Lévy [Paris 1925²³]), p. 389.

²⁰ Courcelle, *op. cit.*, thinks it genuine; usually it is thought to be later than Lactantius.

The *Miracles of Cyrus and John*: New Old Readings from the Manuscript

JOHN DUFFY

The *Miracles of Cyrus and John*, an elaborate account of some seventy cases of miraculous cures at the shrine of these two saints at Menuthis in Egypt, was written around the year A.D. 610 by Sophronius the Sophist, later Patriarch of Jerusalem (634–638), who lavished on this work his abundant rhetorical talents and produced a piece of literature nearly as noteworthy for its form and style as for its contents. The *Miracles* is one of those texts whose survival has depended almost totally on one manuscript, in this case the *Vaticanus graecus* 1607, an expertly written parchment codex of the late tenth century, which was the basis for the first printed edition by Cardinal Angelo Mai.¹ Mai's Greek text and the Latin version were essentially reproduced in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*² and no other edition appeared until the recent work of N. Fernández Marcos, who, by re-examining the Vatican copy, managed to eliminate a fair number of Mai's oversights.³

In a recent article I discussed some of the rhetorical aspects of the *Miracles* and showed how attention to these and other factors could contribute further to the task of restoring and correcting a text which has obviously come down to us in quite a corrupted state.⁴ I also noted, on the basis of a partial collation, that *Vaticanus gr.* 1607 had still (even after the work of Mai and Fernández Marcos) not been fully deciphered.⁵ In the meantime I have gone through a photocopy of the manuscript and present here the results.

¹ It appears in volume III of Mai's *Spicilegium Romanum* (Rome 1840) along with an old Latin translation. The greater part of the Latin version is the work of the ninth-century scholar Anastasius Bibliothecarius, while the first twelve miracles were translated by a less well known figure of the seventh century, Bonifatius Consiliarius.

² 87(3) (Paris 1860), 3424–3676.

³ *Los Thaumata de Sofronio* (Madrid 1975).

⁴ *The Journal of Theological Studies* 35 (1984), 41–60.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48, n. 35.

In fairness it should be pointed out that not all of the instances given below represent misreadings on the part of the two previous editors. This applies especially to Mai; though he provides no critical apparatus, it is clear that he made a great number of silent corrections, many of them necessary, but not a few superfluous or misguided. Of Fernández Marcos—whose main concern was apparently not the critical edition, but the accompanying study of the *Miracles*—it may be said that he relies too heavily on Mai.

In the manuscript itself two correcting hands have been at work. The first belongs to the main scribe, who a few times corrects in the margin his own copying errors. The second, much later, hand has attempted in several places to better the text and some of these efforts are successful. Finally another, somewhat invisible, corrector must be mentioned. Fernández Marcos assumed that the Greek text printed by Migne was identical with that of Mai.⁶ However, when one compares the two, it becomes obvious that numerous changes have been made in the *Patrologia Graeca* version. Who the corrector was must for the time being remain a small mystery and one can only speculate; it could have been a scholar working directly for Migne or someone who happened to have entered emendations in the copy of Mai's edition which later came to be used for the P.G.⁷

For the list that follows it should be understood that in my view the transmitted reading of the manuscript, unless otherwise indicated, is genuine and should be restored to the text. The text will be cited according to the miracle number, paragraph and line of the Fernández Marcos edition.

8.5.4 ή ἀν] κὰν

8.5.13 διαφύγοιεν] διαφεύγοιεν

8.11.2 ἐκ] ὡς ἐκ

8.13.4 ἐοίκεισάν *(π)*ως] ἐοίκει σαφῶς. This is what the ms. has, perhaps as the result of a correction.

8.14.6 ἐκλύσεως] ἐκβλύσεως

8.15.3 γεγένητο] γεγέννητο, i.e. the pluperfect passive of γεννάω. H. Usener, *Der heilige Tychon* (Leipzig 1907), p. 49, n. 4, drew attention to this and other examples of the unaugmented pluperfect in Sophronius.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 238: "Tanto el texto griego como el latino recogido por Migne es el mismo que Mai publicó en el tome III de su *Spicilegium Romanum*."

⁷ Apart from the cases mentioned below (37.8.7; 55.2.2), it will be enough to cite examples from just two of the miracles: 7.2.2 ἐπελήλατο Mai: ἐπήλλακτο P.G.; 7.2.4 μὲν πρὸς μὲν Mai: μὲν πρὸς P.G.; 8.3.6 κυκλοῦντος Mai: κυκλῶντος P.G.; 8.4.10 τούτοις Mai: τούτους P.G.; 8.5.13 ὀργὴν Mai: ὄρμὴν P.G.

9.4.4 καὶ^{1]} Not in the ms.; an unnecessary addition by Mai.

9.4.5 ἀσθενέστερα σκεύη] ἀσθενεστέρῳ σκεύει. Here and elsewhere the iota subscript (not in the ms.) has been added by me.

9.10.5 τοσοῦτο] τοιοῦτο

10 title κώφησιν] κώφωσιν

10.1.1 προσποιήσωμεν] προσεποιήσωμεν (read προσεποίσωμεν). Cf. below 24.1.1, 32.12.9 and J.T.S. 35 (above, note 4), 53–54.

10.1.9 ἐτύχησεν] The later hand in the ms. has added the letter upsilon above the line and εὐτύχησεν is a good correction.

10.4.5 ἀπέστραπτεν] ἀπῆστραπτεν

10.4.6 ἐπλήρωτο] ἐπεπλήρωτο

10.4.8 σκωλήκων] καὶ σκωλήκων

10.5.1 ἔβλυσεν] ἔβλυεν. Sophronius very commonly uses the imperfect, when the aorist would be expected.

10.6.3 ἐστήκει] ιστήκει (read είστηκει)

10.8.2 Μαρίαν] μαριὰμ

11 title ἀφ' ὕψους πεσούσης] This phrase is a supplement. It has been added in the margin by the later hand with an indication that it be inserted after the word διακόνου, a placing which would agree with the Latin version. However, the Latin wording, *per fenestram altam ceciderat*, suggests that the original may have had something more like ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς θυρίδος πεσούσης (cf. 11.3.2–3).

11.1.5 οὐδὲ πάντες] οὐδὲ πάντες ιατροὶ καὶ πάντες

11.2.4 λινοῦ] λήνου, i.e. λίνου. Perhaps a further correction to λινέου is needed; cf. Latin *lineo*.

11.3.1 στερούμενον] στενούμενον. In later Greek (see examples in Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. στενώ) the passive of this verb can mean "be deficient," "be in want," a fact which strongly supports the manuscript reading here. It may also be suggested that the adjective ἔρημον, which seems a little tautologous in the sentence (and is not reflected in the Latin), is a gloss intended to bring out the special meaning of στενούμενον.

11.4.6 παιδικαῖς] παιδικοῖς

11.4.6 ἐρράπιζον] ἐρραπίζον (i.e. neuter present participle of ἐν-ραπίζω)

11.5.4 μάρτυσιν] τοῖς μ.

11.9.2 διδασκάλω] τῷ δ.

12.1.4 μὲν] μὴν

12.7.5 ἄγιου] ἄγιον (describing ποτήριον)

12.9.5–6 ἀποκαλούμενος] ἐπικαλούμενος

12.10.3 καὶ¹] τε καὶ

12.10.4 διήγγειλεν] διήγγελλεν

12.14.3 μηδενὸς] μηδενός σε

12.18.9 συνέτρεχεν] After this in the text is written ἐνὸς γὰρ βρώσει ταοῦ τῶν παρὰ (read περὶ) τὸν νεῶν εὐρισκομένων ἐπράττετο. This picturesque detail was presumably passed over in silence by Mai because there is no sign of it in the Latin.

13.6.7 ἀθρώως] ἀθρῶον (read ἀθρόον. Cf. 27.6.4, 48.4.6)

13.7.3 τῆς πηγῆς] τῇ πηγῇ

13.7.4 ἐπέλαβεν] ἀπέλαβεν

14.3.4 αὐτὸς] αὐτὸ

15.4.1 πάθει] τῷ π.

15.6.6 ὁ] τὸ

16.4.7 οὐ] καὶ οὐ

19.4.3 καὶ¹] Not in ms.; superfluous addition by Mai.

20.3.7 ὑπὲρ λόγου ὅγκωσιν] ὑπέρ λόγον ὅγκώσεσιν

20.3.9 νόσου] τῆς ν.

21.3.2 ἡνίσχοντο] ἡνίχοντο (read ἡνείχοντο)

22.2.8 χαρίσασθαι] Corrected in the margin to κομίζεσθαι by the scribe himself, after χαρίσασθαι had been mistakenly repeated from the previous phrase.

24.1.1 προσαπτήσωμεν] προσεπήσωμεν (read προσεποίσωμεν. Cf. 10.1.1 above)

24.2.1 ἔσχε] εἶχε

28.6.5 ἀπεσκόπευσε] ἀπεσκόπευε

29.7.2 ἥκουσεν] Corrected in the margin to εἴρηκεν by the main scribe (cf. Latin *edixit*)

29.13.1 ἐκάτερα] ἐκατέρα (i.e. ἐκατέρᾳ)

29.13.7 ἀπείληφε] ἀπείληψε (read ἀπήλειψε. Cf. Latin *diluit*)

30.4.10 διαδεδομένων] διαδιδομένων

30.12.5 φθειρομένων] The ms. has φθημένων and the correction above the line appears to have been made by the later hand. Read φθιμένων (cf. Latin *qui consumpti sunt*).^{ρο}

31.2.3 ἐγίνωσκον] ἐγίγνωσκον

31.2.8 τὸν] καὶ τὸν

31.6.3 ἔνθα] Added above the line by the later hand; perhaps it would be better placed after τόπον (cf. Latin *ad locum in quo baptisterium erat*).

32.2.12 πετόμενα] This is followed in the ms. by θάλαττα καὶ τὰ τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐνδιαιτόμενα (read -ώμενα); cf. Latin *mare et quae inhabitant in aquis*.

32.3.4–5 προσώπου] τοῦ π.

32.7.6 ὁ] ω̄

32.8.6 αὐτὸς] αὐτὸν

32.9.4 ὅς] ὁ δὲ

32.11.5 διάνοιαν] διάγνοιαν i.e. δι' ἄγνοιαν (cf. Latin *propter ignorantiam*).

32.12.6 and 9 δεκτικὰ] δηκτικὰ

32.12.9 προσποιήσαντες] πρὸσέποιήσαντες (read προσεποίσαντες. Cf. 10.1.1 and 24.1.1 above)

33.1.6 ἔχει] ἔχοι

33.7.3 πρὸς] καὶ πρὸς

33.9.6 αὐτὴν] αὐτὸν (referring to ὁ νῶτος)

33.10.2 εὐφήμισεν] εὐφήμησεν

34.2.13 λαχούσης] λαχούσῃ. Read λαχοῦσι, agreeing with τοῖς παισὶν (cf. Latin *cum nondum essent exercitatos animae sensus sortiti*).

34.2.14 καὶ] τε καὶ

34.5.1 ηὐξε] ήύξει. Since the form occurs (in the manuscript) not only here, but also at 42.2.10 and twice at 60.2.9, it is probably no accident. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* (Göttingen 1913), records an alternate, contracted form of the verb (αὐξῶ).

34.5.2 ὕσχυσε] ὕσχυε

35.1.5 εὐφραίνη] εὐφράνη

35.8.2 θήκης] θήβης (i.e. θίβης)

35.8.12 ταύτης] τὰ ταύτης (Latin *quae introrsus sunt eius*)

35.10.1 δυσσεβὲς] δυσήδες. Read δυσειδὲς (cf. Latin *foedam illam speciem*).

36.4.5 δεχόμενα] οὐ δ.

36.5.5–6 παραστράπτοντα . . . προσεδείκνυεν] προαστράπτοντα . . . προεδείκνυεν

36.8.10 δὲ] δὲ καὶ

36.12.6 εἰσδεξάμενοι] δεξάμενοι (Mai mistakenly repeated the last syllable of the preceding αἴτησεις)

36.12.9 γοῦν] οὖν

36.13.8 διακόνου] διάκονος

36.16.1–2 τὸ τῆς . . . ἔλαιον] τῆς . . . τὸ ἔλαιον

36.20.10 διδασκαλίᾳ] The main scribe wrote -είας and the later hand changed this to -είαις (i.e. διδασκαλίαις), which should probably be accepted; cf. Latin *doctrinis*.

36.23.6 κοινωνῆσαι] κοινωνῆσαί με. This leaves με occurring twice in the sentence. If one has to be deleted, it should probably be the first, since με after κοινωνῆσαι restores the proper rhythm and is reflected in the Latin version *communicare me coegerunt*. On the prose rhythm of Sophronius see J.T.S. 35 (above, note 4), 45–46.

37.6.3 ἐβούλετο] ἡβούλετο

37.7.9 δουλεύων] καὶ δ. (Latin *et serviens*)

37.8.7 συντάττεσθαι] This word is not in the ms. and, since it does not appear in Mai's edition, we must assume that it was added by the unknown corrector in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. A word of the original is definitely missing, but it may have been rather συναριθμεῖσθαι, which gives a better rhythm and is closer to the Latin *connumerare*.

37.10.5 ἀνὴρ] ἀὴρ

37.10.6 τύφλοι] ως τ. Cf. 69.1.5 and Latin *quia caeci*.

37.10.11 τοῖς ὅμνοις] τοὺς ἀγίους τ. ὅ.

38.3.8 ἐπιδέδωκεν] ἐπέδωκεν

38.6.6 τὸ πρώην] τὰ πρώην (Latin *pristina*)

39.7.1 τῆς ὁδύνης] ταῖς ὁδύνες (i.e. -αις). Mai's correction is not needed, if we understand ὑπερβολῇ as an adverb; cf. Latin *doloribus nimium cruciatus*.

39.9.2 δράσαντες] ἐδράσαντες (read ἐδρ-)

39.10.9 βούλει] βούλη

39.11.1 αὐτοῖς] αὐτὸν, which should be corrected to αὐτῷ (cf. Latin *ei*).

43.2.4 οὐ] οὐ τὴν

43.3.3 ἐκ] ἡ ἐκ

43.3.3 τὸν] Not in the ms. and not needed.

44.4.4 ἐγγισάσης] ἐγγιζούσης

44.4.5 φέρονται] καταφέρονται

47.3.4 ἔρχεται] The later hand corrects this to ἐπανέρχεται, which should be considered, since it restores the rhythm.

48.4.2 τῶν] τὸν

48.4.6 λέγοντι] λήγοντι

48.5.5 ἔρχόμενοι] ἔρχόμενον (Latin *asportatum*)

49.7.5 μεταγινώσκοι] μεταγιγνώσκοι

50.2.5 συμπεράσωμεν] σὺν περάνωμεν (read συμπεράνωμεν)

50.6.8 ἡ] καὶ (Latin *ei*)

51.3.10 προλαβόντας] προκαμῶντας (read προκαμόντας)

51.6.3 θαυμαστὸς] θαύματος

51.6.7 αὐτῶν] αὐτὸν (Latin *hunc*)

51.8.9 δὲ] δ' αἱ

51.9.6 ὄρφανείᾳ] -εῖαν (read -είαν)

51.10.4 Τοῦτο] τοῦτον (Latin *hunc*)

51.10.11 δὲ] Not in the ms. and not needed.

52.5.5 ἀλλότριοι] ἀλλότριοι ξένοι τε καὶ ἐνχώριοι (read ἐγ-). Latin *alieni, extranei et compatriotae.*

53.4.3 αὐτῷ¹] -ῶν (Latin *eorum*)

53.4.6 ὁξέως] ὁξέως οἱ μάρτυρες

54.2.1 Μακεδὼν] μακεδόνων

54.3.9 συνεχὲς] σύνηθες

54.8.8 ἐβέβλητο] ἐβέβλατο. Read ἐβέβλαπτο (cf. Latin *erat laesa* and 54.6.8 βεβλάφθαι γάρ τὴν Ἰουλίαν).

55.2.2 'Υὸς . . . κελεύουσι] This phrase is not in the ms.—where the later hand has signalled a lacuna with λείπ(ει)—but is a supplement by the anonymous corrector in the Migne edition. Because of the rhythm one should consider substituting ἐπιτρέπουσι for κελεύουσι. Cf. 57.3.3 Κρέα γάρ μόσχεια λαβεῖν ἐπιτρέψαντες.

58.1.6 ὁ γένει καὶ φρονήσει κοσμούμενος] ὁ γένει κοσμούμενος ὁ φρονήσει κοσμούμενος. Mai took care of the anomaly in the ms. partly by dropping the first κοσμούμενος altogether. However, since the Latin version has *prosapia ornatus et prudentia famosus*, the original may have been more like ὁ γένει κοσμούμενος καὶ ὁ φρονήσει περίφημος (for περίφημος = *famosus* cf. 55.1.5–6).

59 title σκολοπένδραν] σκολόπενδραν

59.5.5 τοῦτο (ἀν)ηρίθμοις] τοῦτο νηρίθμοις (See J.T.S. 35 [above, note 4], 59)

60.2.9 ηὗξε . . . συνηὗξε] ηύξει . . . συνηύξει. Cf. above 34.5.1.

61 title τοῦ²] τὸ

61.4.2 αὐτῶν] αὐτὸν

62.1.4 τοὺς] καὶ τοὺς

63.1.1 'Ροδόπης] ρόδόπην (Latin *post Rhodopen*)

63.5.3 ἔπιεν] ἔπινεν

64.5.1 δὲ] δὲ καὶ

65.4.1 οὐ γρηγοροῦντι] οὐκ ἐγρηγοροῦντι

66.2.3 δῆ] δὲ

67.1.8 πραχθεῖσιν] πραχθεῖσαν

68.6.3 ἔμησεν] ἔμεσεν

69.4.3 Ἐπειδὴ] ἐπεὶ

69.5.4 ἀνίχνευε ἰατρὸν] ἰατρῶν ἀνίχνευεν ἰατρῶν

69.6.2 προεγίνωσκε] προεγίγνωσκε

69.6.6 ἐκ] διὰ

70.3.2 ἀγίων] τῶν ἀγίων

70.4.6 Θεοῦ] τοῦ θεοῦ

70.11.6 τούτου] τοῦτο. Cf. Latin *hanc . . . figuram.*

70.13.5–6 εἶπε . . . εἶπεν] εἰπὲ . . . εἶπεν. It might be even better to follow the Latin (*dixit . . . dic*) and read εἶπε . . . εἰπὲ.

70.15.5 οὐκ] οὐ μὴ

70.20.5–6 ὁ πλῆθος] πλῆθος

70.27.8 Χριστῷ] χῶν i.e. χριστῷ ἡσοῦ (Latin *Christo Iesu*)

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A Note on *Diogmitae*

C. P. JONES

While being transported as a condemned criminal to Rome, Ignatius bishop of Antioch writes to the Christian community in the capital: "From Syria to Rome I am fighting with beasts, being bound on land and sea, by night and day, to ten leopards, that is, a unit of soliders" (ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ, διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ημέρας, δεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις, ὃ ἐστιν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα).¹ In a recent note Barry Baldwin has argued that these "leopards" "will almost certainly have been the so-called *diogmitae*, a tough crowd of vigilantes or enforcers, hardly deserving *LSJ*'s mild description of them as 'mounted policemen'." Baldwin proceeds to discuss some Greek and Latin attestations of this word, and especially the *Historia Augusta's Marcus* 21. 7, *armauit et diogmitas*. "This account . . . may be authentic, given the undoubted existence of *diogmitae* at that time. Yet one has to wonder what the chances are of the *Historia Augusta* independently coming up with the only extant Latin use of the term outside Ammianus" [27. 9. 6]. Baldwin suggests that "we have here yet another small link in the chain of details that betrays the fraudulent nature of the *Historia Augusta*."²

The classic discussion of the *diogmitae* is by W. H. Waddington, commenting on an inscription copied by Philippe Le Bas on the territory of Aezanoi in Phrygia; some refinements were added by Wilhelm Dittenberger in his edition of the same text. These scholars established that the *diogmitae* were a form of police, light-armed and operating on foot, attached to municipal officers such as the *eirenarches* and the *paraphylax*.³ In 1928 Louis Robert discussed some inscriptions from the borderland of Pisidia and Pamphylia which showed *diogmitae* acting in pairs or accompanying

¹ Ign., *Ep. Rom.* 5. 1 (the best edition is by P. T. Camelot, *Sources Chrétiennes* 10 [Paris 1951]).

² Baldwin, *ICS* 10 (1985), 281–83.

³ Le Bas–Waddington III 992, whence J. Franz, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* 3831 a 8; Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* 511, derives from L–W, G. Lafaye, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes* IV 580 from Dittenberger. *LSJ* take their definition of "mounted policeman" from Franz and ignore Waddington and Dittenberger: in their *Supplement* they refer to Dittenberger without changing their definition.

eirenarchae in threes; some ten years later he was able to add a relief from the Smyrna Museum, several times discussed and reproduced thereafter, which shows a mounted *paraphylax* accompanied by three lightly armed subordinates whom Robert recognized as *diogmitae*.⁴ As their name implies, these were "pursuers" usually employed to apprehend fugitives. It is inconceivable that even ten such local constables could constitute the "leopards" who travelled with Ignatius by land and sea from Syrian Antioch to Rome; these must be Roman legionaries, detached in the usual way to accompany a group of important prisoners.⁵

The inscription from the Aezanitis records that a benefactor of the city "provided at his own expense a *diogmites* to fight under the lord Caesar in the proconsulship of Quintilius Maximus" (*παρασχόντα τῷ κυρίῳ Καισαρὶ σύμμαχον διωγμείτην παρ' ἐαντοῦ κατὰ ἀνθύπατον Κυντίλιον Μάξιμον*). The context in which the *Historia Augusta* says that Marcus Aurelius "armed the *diogmitae*" concerns the emperor's preparations and departure for the German War in 169.⁶ Waddington, followed by Dittenberger, argued that the proconsul Quintilius Maximus was the consul of 151, who should have been proconsul in the later 160s, and that the inscription thus confirmed the testimony of the *Historia Augusta*. A milestone from Dascyleion now dates Maximus' proconsulate to 169/70, and puts Waddington's hypothesis beyond all doubt.⁷ In short, the *diogmitae* were neither "mounted policemen" nor "a tough crowd of vigilantes or enforcers," but light-armed local constables. That is why the *Historia Augusta* singles out among Marcus Aurelius' preparations for the German War the fact that "he also (or even) armed the *diogmitae*"; its testimony is confirmed by the inscription from the territory of Aezanoi.

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⁴ Inscriptions: L. Robert, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 52 (1928), 407–09 (*Opera Minora Selecta* [Amsterdam 1969], II, pp. 878–80), discussing the inscriptions now *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* VI 688, 690, 709. Relief: Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* (Paris 1937), pp. 102–03 with Plate II 2, adding (p. 103, n. 1) a new *diogmitae* from *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* III 305; on this relief see most recently M. Speidel, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 5 (1985), pp. 159–60. Robert's second publication is not cited in Baldwin's article (above, note 2).

⁵ On this function of the legionaries, T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig 1899), pp. 315–18. That Ignatius was not the only prisoner follows from Polycarp, *Ep.* 1. 1, 9. 1, 13. 2 (*Camelot* [above, note 1], p. 9).

⁶ *HA*, *M. Aur.* 20. 6–21. 10.

⁷ D. French, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 21 (1976), 77–78; cf. G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninern*, *Antiquitas*, Reihe 1, 27 (Bonn 1977), p. 381; Bengt E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidum* 1 (Göteborg 1984), p. 230, no. 151; C. P. Jones, *Culture and Society in Lucian* (Cambridge, Mass. 1986), p. 165 arguing against an aberrant view of D. Magic, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950), p. 1532, n. 6.

Where Did the Emperor Lurk?

HA, Hadrian 16. 3

BARRY BALDWIN

Floro poetae scribenti ad se:

*Ego nolo Caesar esse,
ambulare per Britannos,
latitare per . . .
Scythicas pati pruinias.*

rescripsit:

*Ego nolo Florus esse.
ambulare per tabernas,
latitare per popinas,
culices pati rotundos.*

Latitare per is generally added to Florus as his third line on the basis of Hadrian's riposte. Not all concur.¹ Some delete the corresponding line in Hadrian, reducing each poem to a tercet. Others make *Scythicas pati pruinias* the third verse in Florus, fabricating a new fourth one; Birt's *gladios pati cruentos* has earned some favor.²

I am one of those who opt for retention of *latitare*³ *per*, thereby preserving two quatrains but needing a supplement to complete Florus' third

¹ For a repertory of conjectures with extensive bibliography, as well as editions of Florus and the *HA*, see P. Steinmetz, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Literatur des zweiten Jahrhunderts nach Christi Geburt* (Wiesbaden 1982), p. 299; cf. H. Bardon, *Les empereurs et les lettres latines d'Auguste à Hadrien* (Paris 1940), p. 416; J. Schwartz, "Eléments suspects de la *Vita Hadriani*," *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium* 1972/1974 (Bonn 1976), pp. 248–49.

² Cf. L. Cantarelli, "Gli scritti latini di Adriano Imperatore," *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto* 19 (1898), 150.

³ Only here in the *HA*. I am not here concerned with the authenticity of these verses, most recently championed by Alan Cameron, "Poetae Novelli," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 84 (1980), 172. Skeptics might exploit the *HA*'s proclivity for denouncing emperors (especially Gallienus) who frequent *popinae*; cf. also Tac. 4. 7, *videte diligentius quam aetatem de cubiculo atque umbra in pruinias aestusque mittatis*.

line. Proposed emendations⁴ have been mainly geographical, although Bolisani⁵ put forward *cohortes* and Benario⁶ *paludes*, both of which I reject, wishing (unlike their proponents) to maintain the balance whereby three geographical names in Florus are answered by Hadrian with comic variants.

Of the geographical contenders, Roesinger⁷ proposed *Germanos*, with more patriotism than prosody—a *bacchius* (---) is surely needed to preserve metrical concordance between the two pieces. Costa's⁸ *Achivos* is absurd: Hellenic sojourn would be no hardship to the *Graeculus* Hadrian! Steinmetz toys also with *Sugambros*, *Iberos*, or *Hibernos*. Nothing inherently wrong about any of these, though Sugambri may be too northern, Hibeni too close to Britain, and Iber⁹ too near Scythia, agreeing as I do with Clausen¹⁰ that an eastern allusion is, for geographical symmetry's sake, most probable. Clausen's own proposal is *Sabaeos*, in itself acceptable enough, though I do not share his belief in Florus' debt to Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 1521–22, *dic sub Aurora positis Sabaeis / dic sub occasu positis Hiberis*.¹¹

My own tentative remedy is *Syriscos*, based on the following considerations:

1. It consorts with the metrical structure and balance¹² of the two pieces.
2. A diminutive, especially one used by the early writer Terence (*Adelph.* 763; *Eun.* 772, 775), not to mention pseudo-Virgil (*Copa* 1) would doubly commend itself to second-century taste.

⁴ Passing over Winterfeld's unhelpful transferral of *Britannos* down from line 2, leaving a blank there.

⁵ E. Bolisani, "Quel che rimane della poesia di Floro, uno dei neoterici o novelli dell'età adrianea," *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 122 (1963–64), 48.

⁶ H. W. Benario, *A Commentary on the Vita Hadriani in the Historia Augusta* (Chico, California 1980), p. 106—not registered by Steinmetz.

⁷ E. Roesinger, *De scriptoribus historiae Augustae commentatio critica* (Schweidnitz 1868), p. 4; upheld on grounds of assonance by L. Herrmann, "La réplique d'Hadrien à Florus," *Latomus* 9 (1950), 387.

⁸ G. Costa, "Floro e Adriano," *Bollettino di Filologia Classica* 13 (1908), 254.

⁹ Colchian Iberi, not Spaniards, who do not suit the frequent and obtruded eulogies of them by Florus in his *Epitome* of Roman History, accepting the identification of the poet with the historian, a popular though disputed conflation on which I am writing elsewhere.

¹⁰ W. V. Clausen, "Silva Coniecturarum," *American Journal of Philology* 76 (1955), 60–61.

¹¹ More interesting is his parallel of Virgil, *Ecl.* 1. 64–66, with that poet's counterpointing of Scythia with Britons. Doubters of the authenticity of the present verses might suspect a debt owed to Virgil by the *HA*. The former's concomitant reference to Africans does not help if poet and historian are also equated with the Florus who wrote the dialogue *Vergilius orator an poeta*, a character of African origins.

¹² To be sure, the desire for balance pervading this article is ultimately a matter of taste, albeit one shared by most writers on the subject; it is worth noting the symmetry of Hadrian's famous poem to his soul at *HA*, *Hadr.* 25. 9, admirably analyzed by R. Mayer, "Two notes on Latin poets," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 202 (1976), 57–59, a study sadly omitted by many bibliographies on the subject.

3. In view of the subsequent palaeographically similar *Scythicas*, the loss of at least the end of this line would be more easily explained.
4. It takes us geographically from one imperial frontier to another.
5. Hadrian was away in Syria and the East over a long period (c. 129–135), thus giving point to *latitare*.¹³
6. *HA, Hadr.* 14. 1, claims the emperor loathed the people of Antioch, chief city of Syria, thereby enhancing the diminutive force of *Syriscos*.
7. The association of Syria with oil, perfume, and roses heightens the humor of Hadrian's *popinae*, dubious establishments forever branded by Horace (*Epp. I. 14. 21*) in the phrase *uncta popina*.¹⁴

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¹³ Some take the British allusion as pointing to a date of ca. 122 for Florus' squib. If absolute topicality be thought necessary (I doubt it) to make the poem's point, then Hadrian's visit to Syria early in 123 can be readily substituted. Or might Florus also be evoking Hadrian's pre-imperial tenure as governor of Syria, where he was in 117 on the death of Trajan and his own adoption and accession (*HA, Hadr.* 4. 6–7)? Given the gossip surrounding his adoption and the role played by Plotina, *latitare* would achieve a sharp, indeed dangerous, point.

¹⁴ One final point, more dubious, hence separate. The Florus who compiled the *Epitome* around this time indulges in anti-Syrian prejudice, parading it above all at 1. 47. 17 (*Syria prima nos victa corrupti*) in the *anacephalaesis* that divided his two books. If historian and poet be the same person (see note 9 above), *Syriscos* would be an almost predictable gibe.

Vainglorious Menippus In Lucian's
*Dialogues of the Dead*¹

ἄλλα παρὰ νεκροῖς δόγματα
 Lucian, *DMort.* 6(20).3 ("Pythagoras").

JOEL C. RELIHAN

Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* are known to the world in two different ways. The most important is through their modern descendants: they are part of Lucian's massive influence on Erasmus, and are frequently imitated in the French and German literature of the 18th and 19th centuries.² The other is through the study of the literary era that gave them birth: the Greek Second Sophistic, its principles of literary imitation, its allegiance to rhetoric, and its artful irreality. Of these two I am not competent to address the former, except to suggest that the familiarity that Western readers inevitably feel when reading these infernal dialogues does much to obscure what is strange, fantastic, and poetic. But I take issue here with the latter, for the investigation of Lucian's habits of composition and use of motifs, so spectacularly (if sometimes tendentiously) documented by the monographs of Graham Anderson,³ runs the risk of reducing the study of Lucian to a contemplation (and sometimes a rather joyless contemplation) of a second-rate artist's notion of art for art's sake, and would ask us to see as the only content in Lucian the erection of a literary façade and the clever adoption of pretenses and poses. The words of critical appreciation become such things as "graceful," "effortless Atticism," "sophistication," and numerous variations that suggest that we have to do only with shadow and not with

¹ An earlier version of this paper was delivered as a public lecture at the University of Illinois at Urbana in March 1987. I should like to thank Professor Bracht Branham for his valuable suggestions toward its revision.

² Christopher Robinson, *Lucian and his Influence in Europe* (Chapel Hill 1979), pp. 165–97 (*Erasmus*), 144–63 (18th and 19th centuries).

³ G. Anderson, *Lucian, Theme and Variation in the Second Sophistic* (Mnemosyne Supplement 41 [Leiden 1976]); *Studies in Lucian's Comic Fiction* (Mnemosyne Supplement 43 [1976]); see the illuminating but unnecessarily scathing reviews by J. Hall, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 100 (1980), 229–32.

substance; he is the "sophist's sophist."⁴ And within such monumental attempts at the appreciation of Lucian's work as a whole, the *Dialogues of the Dead* have commanded very little interest.⁵ Certainly Lucian does recycle his works and motifs, perpetually creating new works out of old, and this is nowhere more obvious than in the Underworld pieces traditionally associated with the Menippean phase of his literary career: *Necyomantia*, *Charon*, *Cataplus*, and *Dialogues of the Dead*. But the charge of limited invention is not an obstacle to merit. Lucian, like modern writers of genre fiction, sticks to his formulas; and like many such authors, he may be allowed to be brilliant.⁶

There is now a reaction against Anderson's approach in the name of the contemplation of Lucian's real criticisms of his real society.⁷ These arguments are productive in the discussion of the more topical works such as *Alexander the False Prophet*, *The Death of Peregrinus*, *On Salaried Posts*, and the like. But this desire to find satire in Lucian finds little in the *Dialogues of the Dead* to excite the interest, as they are made up largely of stock characters, references to classical mythology and ancient history, and moral commonplaces.⁸ Underlying these studies is a belief that if Lucian is not a social satirist he is nothing much of interest. The point to be argued here is that there is in Lucian a literary value which may be savored quite independently of his topical interests; and that this literary value is in fact

⁴ G. Anderson, "Lucian: a sophist's sophist," *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (1982), 91: "He is the sophisticated and detached virtuoso praeceptor of whatever nonsense it is his whim to preach."

⁵ Anderson, *Theme and Variation* (above, note 3), p. 172: "Lucian's monotonous *DMort.*"; p. 175: "He could scarcely claim to have produced any worthwhile production on the theme of Hades . . . in proportion to the number of attempts he made to exhaust it."

⁶ Anderson's Lucian may be compared to Wodehouse, who also tends to ignore the world around him in preference to the formulaic cultivation of literary novelty. Cf. Wilfrid Sheed's introduction to P. G. Wodehouse, *Leave it to Psmith* (New York 1975), p. x: ". . . the ruthless monomania which turned its back on two world wars and ninety years of history"; p. xiii: "This is a last chance to see Wodehouse among his blueprints and prototypes. The elements are ramshackle, as they still were in musical comedies, but they are all there, ready to be shaped over the next twenty years into a comedy so narrow and fastidious, so lacking in strain and the clown's need for approval and so ruthlessly unadulterated by other emotions that they deserve to be called classic art."

⁷ C. P. Jones, *Culture and Society in Lucian* (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1986), provides a useful introduction to the trends and vicissitudes in Lucianic scholarship and the appreciation of Lucian's literary qualities in his *Preface*, pp. v–vii, and *Introduction*, pp. 1–5. See also the analysis of the *Alexander* by B. Branham, "The Comic as Critic: Revenging Epicurus—a Study of Lucian's Art of Comic Narrative," *Classical Antiquity* 3 (1984), 143–63; Chapter XVIII, "Lucien en son temps," in L. Robert, *A Travers l'Asie Mineure, Poètes et Prosateurs, Monnaies Grecques, Voyageurs et Géographie*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 239 (Paris 1980), pp. 393–436; and J. Hall, *Lucian's Satire*, Monographs in Classical Studies (New York 1981).

⁸ Hall, *Lucian's Satire*, pp. 64–150, devotes a long chapter to "Lucian and Menippean Satire" which concerns itself entirely with the question of Lucian's probable dependence on Menippus, not literary analysis; Jones, *op. cit.*, does not discuss the *Dialogues of the Dead* at all.

one of the best means of appreciating the degree to which he reflects the circumstances and intellectual attitudes of the Antonine period. I do not speak of what "lessons" Lucian may have to preach, for, to quote Reardon, "Lucian knows all the answers; and they are all 'No'."⁹ Rather, it is the path by which he comes to this answer that will prove most important.

A large part of the problem of understanding what Lucian's various writings are about is caused by the importation of the word "satire." Satire is a notoriously slippery term, and if by it we just mean comic social criticism we must avoid confusing a shorthand term of convenience with the realities of Greek literature and its genres. Resemblances between Lucian and Juvenal are misleading.¹⁰ There is some verbal overlap and some similarity of attitude (Lucian is also unremittingly negative, with even fewer pieces of positive advice than Juvenal), but this cannot hide the fact that Lucian typically writes not satires but comic dialogues. The comic dialogue is the genre of the *Dialogues of the Dead*, and Lucian, its inventor, has been good enough to explain it to us in its rough outlines.

Lucian defines the comic dialogue in terms suggestive not of verse satire but of Menippean satire. In a famous passage (*Bis Acc.* 33), a personified Dialogue complains of the indignities suffered at the hands of Lucian (here called the Syrian): he has been dragged down from heaven and robbed of his wings; his tragic and wise natures have been stripped away; things comic, satyric (that is, resembling satyr plays), and absurd have been mixed in; so too have lampoon, iambus, Cynicism, Eupolis, Aristophanes, and, worst of all, Menippus. He has been insulted and forced to play the fool; and the strangest thing is that he is now neither prose nor verse, but has been mixed up into a paradoxical mixture, a hippocentaur and a bizarre apparition to the audience. This mixture of disparate things is designed to frustrate the expectations of the audience, here described as not knowing what to make of what they hear.¹¹ Lucian's Greek may well allude to the Roman *satura* in its meaning of "medley, hodge-podge":

κρᾶσίν τινα παράδοξον κέκραμαι καὶ οὕτε ἐπὶ τῶν μέτρων
βέβηκα, ἀλλὰ ιπποκενταύρου δίκην σύνθετόν τι καὶ ξένον
φάσμα τοῖς ἀκούουσι δοκῶ. ¹²

⁹ B. P. Reardon, trans., *Lucian, Selected Works*, The Library of Liberal Arts (Indianapolis/New York 1965), p. xxix. See the same author's excellent chapter on Lucian in *Courants littéraires grecs des II^e et III^e siècles après J.-C.*, Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Nantes 3 (Paris 1971).

¹⁰ On the question of Lucian's possible knowledge of and dependence on Juvenal, see the appendix to E. Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (London 1980), pp. 624–29. See also Hall, *Lucian's Satire*, pp. 244–48.

¹¹ A similar description of the audience's confused reaction to the mixture of elements in a comic dialogue may be found in *Prometheus es in verbis* and *Zeuxis*; Diogenes is made to complain at *Piscator* 26 that the mixture of Menippus into Dialogue betrays Philosophy.

¹² *Bis Acc.* 33. All quotations are from MacLeod's Loeb edition, as they are not yet available in his Oxford Classical Text.

It may be added parenthetically that the admission that this genre is made up of such a multitude of literary influences is by itself a comic statement, suggesting a lack of integrity as well as a lack of noble lineage.

It may be true that dialogue, Socratic in origin, is a vehicle for the search for truth in which the author no longer insists upon his own opinions as central to the work (so Bakhtin);¹³ it may be that Lucian here depicts himself as a new Socrates, who was said to have dragged philosophy down from heaven (Cic., *Tusc.* V. 4. 10). But the literary form in which these dialogues are clothed suggests that truth itself is not to be found; that humor supplants truth; and central to this devaluation of meaning in dialogue and philosophy is Menippus. "Devaluation of meaning" here refers to the generally debunking attitude that the dialogues take toward the notion of literary authority, the possibility of enclosing truth in words, and the whole logocentric view of the world. If we are to speak of satire in Lucian's dialogues, ultimately it is intellectual satire, not social satire, that is at issue,¹⁴ and Menippus, who is emblematic of some sort of dissatisfaction with literature and with truth, is the central figure in the *Dialogues of the Dead*.

The study of this intellectual attitude toward writing and its possibilities of containing or imparting truth will tell more about Lucian's relation to the world around him than the analysis of topical targets. The fantasy of his dialogues and narratives, the literary impropriety of his comic dialogue, and the literary allusiveness of his compositions, all suggest an author reaching his conclusions by marvelous means. It is often noted that Lucian's values are the simple ones of common sense, championed against purveyors of bunkum and fraud. It is of great interest to ask why they are reached by such allusive, playful, and fantastic means. It is a habit common to Lucian's writings that an argument is so constructed as to give the reader no sure idea of where he stands in relation to the text.¹⁵ And as a current book on the influence of Lucian on Ben Jonson observes:

In most of Lucian's writings the values upheld are honesty and common-sense, not wit or learning, with the result that there is frequent disparity between the simple norms which he states and those which he implies

¹³ M. Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (ed. and trans. C. Emerson, Theory and History of Literature, Volume 8 [Minneapolis 1984]), pp. 133–47, provides a rich and fascinating description of what an eminent critic of Dostoevsky and the rise of the modern novel takes to be the genre Menippean satire. It is a theory finding wide acceptance in discussions of contemporary Menippean satires, though I would object that his definition is too broad to be of use in the study of the Greek and Roman works to which the multifarious modern works owe their generic allegiance.

¹⁴ N. Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton 1971), p. 309: "The Menippean satire deals less with people as such than with mental attitudes."

¹⁵ Branham, "The Comic as Critic" (above, note 7), 162, speaking of the *Alexander*: "Lucian systematically provokes the reader to consider the material at hand from humorously divergent perspectives."

through his highly sophisticated manner. Readers more influenced by the latter might well suspect that he took nothing seriously at all except his art, but the unimpeachable safeness of the norms through which he sought to make contact with his public could always be accepted as evidence to the contrary.¹⁶

In fact, the *Dialogues of the Dead* give us valuable insight into the thematic function of fantasy in Lucian as well as into the nature of the influence of the writings of Menippus on Lucian.

In what follows, these points will be urged: that the *Dialogues of the Dead* are essentially a recasting of a Menippean satire as a series of dialogues; that the characterization of Menippus differs from those of the other Cynics who populate the *Dialogues*; that Menippus is in these *Dialogues* a type of the vainglorious human character that he himself would and does criticize; that Menippus changes in the course of the *Dialogues*; and that these *Dialogues* represent Lucian's parody of the character and writings of Menippus, to whom he owes so much both in the creation of his Menippean satires and in the creation of the comic dialogue. From these conclusions some more general observations on Lucian's works will be inferred: that Lucian's reaction to living in an age of quacks, charlatans, and frauds is to borrow certain motifs from Menippus, who represented himself as a self-parodic preacher making fun of supernatural attempts to get at the truth; and that the distinction between Menippean satire proper (*Icaromenippus*, *Necyomantia*) and comic dialogue with Menippean influence in Lucian is that in the latter it is the author's own artfulness, and not a narrator's fantastic journey, that distances the reader from any serious point that may be at issue.

I. The *Dialogues of the Dead* as a Coherent Collection

These *Dialogues* are in many ways distinctive in Lucian's corpus. Even in an author whose art lies in recycling there can be important variations in the nature of composition. The *Dialogues of the Dead* are certainly the best known of Lucian's shorter dialogues, but they are distinct from the other three collections, the *Dialogues of the Gods*, *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods*, and *Dialogues of the Courtesans*. These latter are fairly uniformly in the nature of literary pastiche: famous scenes or lines of dialogue from Classical and Hellenistic literature become the starting point for playful and/or debunking retreatments. The *Dialogues of the Courtesans*, for example, take their cue from New Comedy, and each of them, on the average the longest of these four groups of dialogues, reads like a scene from New Comedy.¹⁷ The

¹⁶ Douglas Duncan, *Ben Jonson and the Lucianic Tradition* (Cambridge 1979), p. 24.

¹⁷ I might also add that these observations on the human comedy, despite their ancient pedigree, seem the most sympathetic to the problems of human life and human emotion in the whole Lucianic corpus.

Dialogues of the Sea-Gods, sometimes considered the most polished and literarily successful of the four, are a reprise of traditional myths and their poetic treatments: Menelaus speaks to Proteus about the latter's unbelievable abilities in 4; Poseidon hears the true story about Arion from the dolphin who rescued him in 5(8).¹⁸

But the *Dialogues of the Dead* are not like this.¹⁹ With the exception of Dialogue 26(15), between Achilles and Antilochus, who takes the former to task for saying that he would rather be a sharecropper's slave and alive than king of all the dead (*Od.* XI. 489–91); Dialogue 11(16), in which Diogenes argues with the image of Heracles about the latter's double nature as described at *Od.* XI. 601–03; and three *Dialogues* involving Alexander the Great—12(14), 13(13), 25(12)—the Underworld *Dialogues* seem to be based on the reworking of a single Hellenistic work, Menippus' *Nekyia*. This is the probable source of Lucian's *Necyomantia*, a Menippean satire featuring Menippus on a journey to the Underworld to discover the truth about life, from which Lucian created a number of other infernal pieces.²⁰ Menippus' work may itself have contained such conversations as those with Achilles and Alexander. So the reader's reaction to these *Dialogues* is different: one is not being set a number of classical allusions and asked to remember their original contexts in the spirit of a literary excercise or game, but rather given a series of what may be called meditations on Menippus and death.

If we view the *Dialogues of the Dead* as one Menippean satire, written as a series of dialogues, we raise some interesting questions: whether unity is somehow preserved in thirty short dialogues, not united by a plot; whether the loss of the narrative structure causes thematic changes; whether the *Dialogues* depend for their effect upon knowledge of the original *Nekyia* and the person of Menippus. The theme seems at first fairly straightforward: Death the Leveler, the theme of all of the infernal works.²¹ But are we to take the inconsistencies in the *Dialogues of the Dead* as but another instance of Lucian's using whatever material is necessary to make the point of the moment (a contention frequently made in discussions of Lucian's sophistic and literary presentations), or is the cumulative effect of

¹⁸ In the numbering of the *Dialogues*, the first number represents the order of the γ class of manuscripts whose primacy has been established by Mras and accepted in MacLeod's edition; the latter (in parentheses) represents the traditional numbering. When paragraphs are given, the traditional number is omitted.

¹⁹ Robinson, *Lucian and his Influence* (above, note 2), pp. 21–22, discusses all but the *Dialogues of the Dead* in terms of their nature as literary pastiche.

²⁰ It is quite possible that Lucian's voyages to heaven, such as the *Icaromenippus*, are his own recasting of the *Nekyia*; and Varro too may have independently created heavenly voyages out of Menippus' infernal voyage. This was first suggested by O. Hense, "Zu Lucian und Menippus," *Festschrift für Th. Gomperz* (Wien 1902), pp. 185–96; and strongly argued by G. Anderson, *Theme and Variation* (above, note 3), pp. 139–40. The conclusion that we could draw from this is that a single work of Menippus taught Lucian what he knew about fantasy, and this would make a strong *a priori* case for a similarity of thematic effects in Lucian's fantastic scenes.

²¹ Robinson, *Lucian and his Influence*, p. 17.

the inconsistencies part of the effect of the work? This is the theme of the uselessness of endeavor when confronted with the reality that is death, as contrasted with the efforts of those Cynics in the Underworld who feel obliged to preach. To put it another way: how do we reconcile Death the Leveler with the often repeated claims that Cynic detachment makes one a better corpse than the irrational longing for life and light? Or reconcile the logical arguments about the absurdity of the conventional Underworld with the physical fact of the existence of these characters in the *Dialogues*? Perhaps the Cynic voice of reason is comically portrayed as yet another example of the pointlessness of endeavor and desire.

Here one must take exception to the notion, forcefully put forward by Anderson, that Lucian deals only in types or stock characters. As Robinson says, in a book heavily (and profitably) indebted to Anderson's monographs: "The Cynic philosophers who take the stage to debunk the pretensions of their fellow men are all a single type, sometimes historical (Menippus, Diogenes, Crates, Antisthenes, even Peregrinus), sometimes invented (Cyniscus, Alcidamas)."²² In fact, despite some overlap, Menippus is used in ways distinct from the other Cynics in the *Dialogues of the Dead*. First, Menippus is clearly the central figure of the *Dialogues of the Dead*; the first *Dialogue* has Diogenes telling Pollux to go summon Menippus, if he has now had his fill of deriding the worlds of the living, so that he can laugh all the more at the folly of the dead. Second, if instead of the traditional order we accept the order of the *Dialogues* as preserved in codex Vaticanus Graecus 90 (Γ),²³ Menippus has practically the last word. He appears in more than a third of these thirty *Dialogues*, at regular and significant intervals (1–10, 20, 30).²⁴ Third, he never appears in the company of the other Cynics.²⁵ Most importantly, Menippus speaks primarily to mythical creatures, the

²² Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

²³ The leading manuscript of the γ class.

²⁴ The traditional order would place Menippus in the following *Dialogues* (Γ 's order in parentheses): 1(1), 2(3), 3(10), 10(20), 17(7), 18(5), 20(6), 21(4), 22(2), 25(30), 26(8), 28(9), the concluding dialogue of the collection being Γ 's 24, between Minos and Sostratus. It is a question worth investigating, whether Menippus is presented in a more interesting way in the traditional order. While the latter order does not put Menippus' adventures in chronological order (Menippus on the ferry in 10 [I use traditional numbers here] should come after 1, or perhaps after 2), it does put the conversation between Menippus and Teiresias last (though not last in the entire collection), suggestive of the end of the *Necyomantia*. The *Dialogue* which would conclude the collection [24(30)], between Minos and Sostratus, in which Sostratus escapes punishment as a result of his sophistic arguments, is suggestive of the end of the *Juppiter confutatus* and of the deferred punishment of *Icar.* 33, and of Menippean satire in general (as in Claudio's release from the punishment of the bottomless dice box in the *Apocolocyntosis*, and Constantine's escape from punishment in Julian's *Caesares* by recourse to Jesus, who takes no notice of his crimes).

²⁵ This fact, in conjunction with other evidence, suggests that Menippus viewed himself, and was viewed by others in antiquity, as a renegade Cynic on the fringes of this iconoclastic movement. I hope to argue this separately in an analysis of Diogenes Laertius' *Life* of Menippus.

orthodox Cynic Diogenes primarily to mortals. The *Dialogues* present the traditional Cynics and their preaching differently from the way they present the character and preaching of Menippus.

Menippus is the hero, a fantastic voyager in the tradition of Menippean satire. Part of the humor lies in what he sees and how he sees it, and part in how the reader views him. Menippus changes in the course of the collection. This is not to suggest that the *Dialogues of the Dead* are a sort of chthonic *Pilgrim's Progress*. Menippus does not change in a coherent way in their course, and he is not in every *Dialogue*. But the common reaction to these *Dialogues*, that they and their hero are unrelievedly depressing, their criticisms insufferable and inhumane, misses the point: the *Dialogues* present such matters ironically, and the catechizer, to quote the phrase, is catechized. Menippus first appears as a type of the vainglorious individual whose pride in personal achievement is an object of Cynic criticism in the *Dialogues*; and we can also see Menippus' criticisms comically portrayed in the Underworld and can see his attitudes change. Lucian's Underworld is populated by frauds, quacks, and philosophers; unrepentant sinners and unreflective potentates; bogey men and ghosts; the judges, guardians, and all the other apparatus of the mythical Underworld; undifferentiated bones and skulls; Cynic philosophers who deride the human desire for life; and Menippus the super-Cynic, eager to die and eager to help Charon row his boat ashore, rejoicing to be dead and superior to all the other dead, yet every so often depicted as just another pile of bones, and often engaged in arguments with mythical beings, trying to convince them that they do not exist. Depictions of the Underworld in European and European-influenced literature mirror the real world and comment upon it, and the *Dialogues of the Dead* are no exception. We see all the embarrassing inconsistencies of life in these *Dialogues*, but what is brought out in sharp relief is not life itself, but the desire to correct it, to preach and to criticize. For it is hard to imagine change and conversion among the dead; we scarcely see anyone convinced or swayed by Menippus' arguments. How can there be sermons to the dead, or pride in being such a preacher? And to whom does Menippus preach? There is no stable person to be addressed: in the last *Dialogue*, Menippus addresses Nireus and Thersites now as flesh and blood, and now as fragile skeletons. No doubt the living Menippus would have claimed to see the skull beneath the skin, but in the land of the dead he seems as futile, though hardly as inspiring, as St. Francis preaching to birds and fish.

II. Death Comes for Menippus

We should let the text speak for itself, but there is a problem of vocabulary: what the word "Menippus" means and what associations it may be expected to have for the reader. Menippus is known as a mocker, and one particularly associated with the world of the dead. One point should be made at the

outset, a point so obvious that its considerable importance is easily overlooked: in the *Dialogues of the Dead* Menippus is actually *dead*. Menippus dead is a remarkable thing. Marcus Aurelius in his gloomy *Meditations* uses the example of Menippus to illustrate the truth that even mockers have to die (6. 47):

Ἐννόει συνεχῶς παντοίους ἀνθρώπους καὶ παντοίων μὲν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, παντοδαπῶν δὲ ἔθνῶν τεθνεῶτας, ὥστε κατιέναι τοῦτο μέχρι Φιλιστίωνος καὶ Φοίβου καὶ Ὁριγανίωνος. μέτιθι νῦν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα φῦλα. ἐκεῖ δὴ μεταβαλεῖν ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ὅπου τοσοῦτοι μὲν δεινοὶ ῥήτορες, τοσοῦτοι δὲ σεμνοὶ φιλόσοφοι, Ἡράκλειτος, Πυθαγόρας, Σωκράτης, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἥρωες πρότερον, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ὕστερον στρατηγοί, τύραννοι. ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Εὔδοξος, Ἰππαρχος, Ἀρχιμήδης, ἄλλαι φύσεις ὅξειαι, μεγαλόφρονες, φιλόπονοι, πανούργοι, αὐθάδεις, αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικήρους καὶ ἐφημέρου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωῆς χλευασταί, οἷον Μένιππος καὶ ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι. περὶ πάντων τούτων ἐννόει, ὅτι πάλαι κείνται.

Meric Casaubon's morose formality captures the essence of this crucial passage:²⁶

Let the several deaths of men of all sorts, and of all sorts of professions, and of all sorts of nations, be a perpetual object of thy thoughts. . . . Pass now to other generations. Thither shall we after many changes, where so many brave orators are; where so many grave philosophers; Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Socrates. Where so many heroes of the old times; and then so many brave captains of the latter times; and so many kings. After all these, where Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Archimedes; where so many other sharp, generous, industrious, subtile, peremptory dispositions; and among others, even they, that have been the greatest scoffers and deriders of the frailty and brevity of this our human life; as Menippus, and others, as many as there have been such as he. Of all these consider, that they long since are all dead, and gone.²⁷

It is a brilliant observation: even the mockers of life are dead, and those who speak of the end that is death are dead, and their death is a matter of no great importance. Even the task of meditating upon the transience of fame and the futility of endeavor ends in death.

Yet Menippus is more than just a dead mocker in the *Dialogues*. Not only is he a character in Lucian's *Necyomantia*, and probably a character in his own *Nekyia*, but it also seems that in life Menippus represented himself as an emissary from the Underworld, come to report on the sins of humans

²⁶ *The Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius, translated out of the Greek by Meric Casaubon*, Everyman's Library, No. 9 (London & Toronto 1906) p. 69 (numbered XLII of Book VI).

²⁷ The text continues: τί οὖν τοῦτο δεινὸν αὐτοῖς; τί δαὶ τοῖς μηδ' ὄνομαζομένοις ὅλως; ἐν ᾧδε πολλοῦ ἄξιον, τὸ μετ' ἀληθείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης εὑμενῇ τοῖς φεύσταῖς καὶ ἀδίκοις διαβιοῦν.

in order to report back to the lords of the dead. The *Suda*, s.v. φαιός, "gray," has the following entry:

Μένιππος ὁ κυνικὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τερατείας ἥλασεν ὡς Ἐρινύος ἀναλαβεῖν σχῆμα, λέγων ἐπίσκοπος ἀφίχθαι τῶν ὀμαρτανομένων ἔξ αἰδου καὶ πάλιν κατιὼν ἀπαγγέλλειν ταῦτα τοῖς ἑκεὶ δαίμοσιν. ἦν δὲ ἡ ἑσθῆς αὕτη· φαιός χιτών ποδήρης, περὶ αὐτῷ ζώνη φοινική, καὶ πῖλος Ἀρκαδικός ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἔχων ἐνυφασμένα τὰ ιβ' στοιχεῖα, ἐμβάται τραγικοί, πώγων ὑπερμεγέθης, ράβδος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μελίνη.

Menippus the Cynic went so far in his hocus-pocus that he took on the appearance of a Fury and said that he had come from Hades as an observer of sins and would go back down again to report them to the divinities there. This was his attire: a gray, ankle-length cloak with a purple belt around it; an Arcadian cap with the twelve signs of the Zodiac woven into it on his head; tragic boots; an immense beard; and an ashen staff in his hand.²⁸

The *Suda* is certainly correct in attributing this to Menippus.²⁹ The depiction of a comic Menippus (a bearded Fury in tragic boots) back from the Underworld corresponds to Lucian's picture of him at the beginning of the *Necyomantia*, in which he is shown with Orpheus' lyre, wearing Odysseus' cap and carrying Heracles' lion skin.³⁰

It is easy to refer such a fantastic costume to a Cynic desire to be outrageous, but there is certainly an element of self-parody in this as well. The critical philosophical tradition speaks of this as *τερατεία*, "wonderworking, hocus-pocus, imposture"; it could hardly be expected to generate any other reaction. And it is an element of both the *Necyomantia* and the *Icaromenippus*, Lucian's two true Menippean satires, that the Menippus who returns from his fantastic voyage with the truth to preach to mortals is comically shown as a false prophet. At the end of the

²⁸ This image of Menippus the infernal observer seems to be confirmed by a fragment of Varro's *Menippean Τάφη Μενίππου* (f539): *saltēm infernus tenebrio, κακός δαίμων, atque habeat homines sollicitos, quod eum peius formidant quam fullo ululam.*

²⁹ Some small difficulty attaches to this testimonium. Diogenes Laertius gives the same information, but claims it as a description of Menedemus, a Cynic whose *Life* follows that of Menippus and whose *Life* is the last in Book VI, which is devoted to the Cynics. It is the opinion of W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Philosophen- und Literaturgeschichte, Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde VI* (Leipzig 1906), p. 3, that Diogenes Laertius is in error, having filled out an entry for which he had no information with details pertaining to Menippus. The older critics who have followed Diogenes Laertius' attribution are considerable, however: Riese and Wilamowitz, among others. M. Billerbeck, *Epiket, vom Kynismus*, *Philosophia Antiqua*, Vol. XXXIV (Leiden 1978), pp. 136-37, in discussing the Cynic role of the *ἐπίσκοπος*, mentions the passage in Diogenes Laertius as referring to Menedemus without any acknowledgment of the problematic attribution.

³⁰ The ultimate source of this, as may be imagined for a good deal of the fantastic machinery of Menippus' writings, is Aristophanic Comedy: in the *Frogs* Dionysus goes down to the Underworld with Heracles' lion skin thrown over his effeminate yellow robe. Of course, as an actor, he too is wearing tragic boots.

Necyomantia, for example, he comes back with the Cynic truth about life to the upper world through the hole of the false prophet Trophonius. It is a habit of Menippean satire in general to use a fantastic setting to mock those who have recourse to fantasy to find the truth. The way in which the fantasy of Menippean satire differs from that of Old Comedy is that, in Old Comedy, fantasy gets things done and reaches good and useful ends, while fantasy in Menippean satire makes such ends crumble into dust.

A number of important points stem from this. First, Lucian has killed off Menippus; that is, he has taken Menippus' *Nekyia* and placed within it the dead Menippus himself as a ghost in the Underworld. Second, the fantastic journey of the *Nekyia* (or of Lucian's *Necyomantia*) cannot result in Menippus' return to the upper world.³¹ Menippus is now trapped in the Underworld; the dialogue structure, replacing the narrative fantasy of the original, extended composition, reinforces this fact. Third, Menippus in his life and writings (insofar as they can be interpreted) made fun of the Underworld; it seems that he used the fact of death to terrify the living and make fun of philosophical rivals, but nothing indicates that he believed in the literal reality of the Classical Underworld. And this last point is the most interesting, for the *Dialogues* put Menippus in the company of fantasies that he cannot believe in, against whose existence he argues in the *Dialogues*, but who, for the *Dialogues'* sake, certainly exist. It is a sort of humor found elsewhere in Lucian, as in the dialogues on Olympus, in which the absurd divinities are intractably real; their ontological status, to use the technical term, is the comic issue.³² Menippus the mocker is hoist on his own petard. The world he joked about is real, and he cannot escape from it; it will seek to make him one of its own. He is trapped, and his reason becomes ridiculous in this madhouse.

How Menippus dies and thus comes to be in the Underworld is therefore of some interest, and the confusion of detail in these *Dialogues* suggests that Menippus is of two minds about his suicide. Diogenes' request that Pollux summon Menippus in 1(1) implies suicide; and at 20. 11 Menippus says that he was eager for death, and no one had to encourage him. Suicide is similarly implied at the end of 4(21), where Cerberus says that only he and Diogenes came of their own accord without being pushed. Diogenes Laertius reports, in a hostile notice, that Menippus hanged himself (D. L. VI. 100). In 2(22) he has in his sack a "Hecate's dinner;" and the Scholiast on *DMort.* 1. 1 reports that he died of eating raw eggs intended for such a dinner. There is in all of this a good deal of resemblance between Menippus

³¹ Similarly, Claudius cannot return in the *Apocolocyntosis*. This leads to an interesting conflation of the narrator as both naive observer of the comic afterlife and a comic captive of the afterlife.

³² This is best seen in the *Juppiter Tragoedus*, in which a council of gods listens to an earthly debate between an atheist and a believer, the fate of the gods hanging in the balance. The atheist refuses to press his advantage and the believer wins the argument. The gods breathe a sigh of relief, their existence unimpaired. Yet they have to exist in order to listen to the debate.

and Diogenes the Cynic, who is said to have died either by holding his breath, or by eating raw octopus, or by being torn apart by the pack of dogs to whom he was trying to distribute a raw octopus (D. L. VI. 76–77). It has been pointed out that the description of Menippus at *DMort.* 1. 1 as an old bald man in rags resembles the iconography of Diogenes;³³ it is very likely that the tales told of Menippus and Diogenes have at some point become intertwined,³⁴ possibly by Menippus' own desire to be seen as a true disciple of the master, a claim that the rest of antiquity eagerly and unanimously disallowed. In death as in life, Menippus glories in following the example of the master.

But Menippus jokes with Charon at 2(22) that he will have to be returned to life if the obol which he does not have is a requirement for being brought to the land of the dead. And in *Dialogue* 8(26) Menippus argues against suicide with the centaur Chiron, who longed for death because of the monotony of eternal life. Chiron expresses what are elsewhere considered the advantages of death at 8. 2: democracy (*ισοτιμία*),³⁵ irrelevance of distinctions of light and darkness, lack of physical desires such as hunger and thirst. Menippus answers that life in the Underworld too can be monotonous, and there can be no change from that; one should therefore be satisfied with one's lot and not think anything intolerable. Strictly applied, this sentiment, a properly Cynic one, would argue against suicide. Our surprise at hearing it from Menippus' mouth may imply more than carelessness on Lucian's part.

In the *Dialogues of the Dead*, Menippus is trapped in a world that he used to make fun of. Part of the comedy here lies in the fact that Menippus cannot run away from a world that he never thought existed, and that what we see in the *Dialogues of the Dead* is Menippus trying to accommodate his beliefs to this new, bizarre, and wholly impossible world. A suggestion that Menippus will be surprised by the Underworld is even to be found at the beginning of the first *Dialogue*. Diogenes wants Pollux to say to Menippus that if he has had his fill of laughter up above, he will find even more to laugh at down below.³⁶ He adds the following strange statement (1. 1):

³³ Hall, *Lucian's Satire* (above, note 7), p. 79.

³⁴ G. Donzelli, "Una Versione Menippaea della Αἰσώπου Πρᾶσις?" *Rivista di Filologia* 38 (1960), 225–76; cf. especially 270. Diogenes' alleged adulteration of the coinage of Sinope (D. L. VI. 20–21), itself based on some sort of witticism involving the word *vopīsmata*, meaning both "money" and "mores," seems to lie behind the detail in Laertius that Menippus was a usurious moneylender (D. L. VI. 99).

³⁵ Cf. Menippus' last words in the *Dialogues* (according to the order of Γ), concluding a beauty contest between Nireus and Thersites (30. 2): *ισοτιμία γὰρ ἐν ἄδου καὶ ὅμοιοι ἀπαντεῖς.*

³⁶ 1. 1: εἴ σοι ίκανῶς τὰ ὑπὲρ γῆς καταγεγέλασται.

έκει μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ σοὶ ἔτι ὁ γέλως ἦν καὶ πολὺ τὸ 'τίς γὰρ ὅλως οἶδε τὰ μετὰ τὸν βίον; ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐ παύσῃ βεβαίως γελῶν καθάπερ ἐγώ νῦν. . . .

"For up there your laughter was still a doubtful thing and there was much of the phrase 'Who really knows what happens after life?' But here you will never stop laughing heartily just as I do now. . . ."

This admits that Menippus' criticism of life above was predicated upon his knowledge of the way the Underworld operated, which of course Menippus could not truly know. One may imagine that his Cynicism was founded on doubt, on the fact that what happens after this life is unknowable. Diogenes' quotation, "Who really knows what happens after life?" is probably from Menippus himself.³⁷ But here is an opportunity to see at first hand, to experience reality, as it were; and Menippus will be able to laugh for certain, because of the nature of the Underworld as he will discover it. Now if the tenor of this is, "Before he saw through a glass, darkly, but now face to face," we may conclude that Menippus will learn that the Underworld *really is* as ridiculous as he thought it was. Death comes to Menippus not as a negation but as an unexpected answer. Menippus, known as a mocker, not a philosopher, will find that the absurdities of death are a reality worthy of, but ultimately superior to, his mockery.

III. Menippus and his Preachings in the Underworld

Menippus is never shown in the company of other Cynics. Certainly Diogenes awaits his arrival with great anticipation in 1(1), and Menippus is the thread that holds the collection together. Yet Menippus and Diogenes never meet in the Underworld, and it is Diogenes, not Menippus, who functions as the exemplar of the true Cynic. It is Diogenes who discusses the permanence of wisdom even in Hades with his fellow Cynic Crates at 21(11). Diogenes there lists the Cynic virtues (*σοφίαν, αὐτάρκειαν, ἀλήθειαν, παρρησίαν, ἐλευθερίαν*); but the virtues assigned to Menippus at 20. 9, tellingly enough, do not include wisdom and truth (*ἐλευθερίαν καὶ παρρησίαν καὶ τὸ ἄλυπον καὶ τὸ γενναῖον καὶ τὸν γέλωτα*).

There are a number of important ways in which the traditional Cynics are treated differently from the mocker Menippus. They are the earlier inhabitants of Hades and seem to have made their peace with it; Menippus is the newcomer, and must make certain adjustments. Furthermore, the true Cynics are seen, strangely enough, in a warmer and more human light. A few examples may be listed. First, in 13(13) Diogenes discusses the unimportance of material goods with Alexander the Great, who complains bitterly about ever listening to Aristotle, who taught him just the opposite. Diogenes proposes a cure (13. 6): Alexander is to take frequent draughts

³⁷ Cf. Barbara P. McCarthy, "Lucian and Menippus," *Yale Classical Studies* 4 (1934), 12.

from Lethe, and try to avoid the vengeful Clitus and Callisthenes. Menippus is never seen giving this kind of helpful advice.³⁸

Second, in 22(27), Diogenes, Crates, and Antisthenes, chuckling over their memories of how they mocked the dead with whom they first entered the Underworld, decide to gather around its entrance to make fun of the new arrivals, the rich who are weeping for their lost estates (22. 1): *καὶ γὰρ ἂν ήδὺ τὸ θέαμα γένοιτο, τὸν μὲν δακρύοντας αὐτῶν ὄρᾶν, τὸν δὲ ἰκετεύοντας ἀφεθῆναι.* We see the typical and unpleasant characters of the Cynics in their reminiscences, but *ecce miraculum!* They see a new crowd come down, all weeping (except for children and infants). The three still profess to be amazed (or at least Diogenes, who is the only one of the three to speak from this point on) at this longing for life, and Diogenes questions an old man as to why he is so sad to leave the world above. There follows a quite unexpected conversation. The old man says that he was a ninety year old, penniless, childless, lame and half-blind beggar (22. 9).

—*Εἴτα τοιοῦτος ὁν ζῆν ἥθελες;*

— *Ναί· ήδὺ γὰρ ἦν τὸ φῶς καὶ τὸ τεθνάναι δεινὸν καὶ φευκτέον.*³⁹

Diogenes thinks the old man mad, and says that he and his fellow Cynics should not be concerned about the young when the old have such notions instead of being eager for death. But the last sentence of the *Dialogue* has Diogenes urging his Cynic friends to hurry away, lest they be thought to be planning an escape as they cluster about the entrance to the Underworld. In my view the ending, and the moving statement of the beggar about the sweetness of life, are to lead us to think that it has come into Diogenes' mind at this point to try to escape, because life is sweet. There is some vindication of the joys of life over those who deny its sweetness in an attempt to make themselves some sort of comfortable niche in the Land of the Dead. Menippus speaks of returning to the world above only as a joke in *Dialogue* 2, when Charon complains that he does not have the necessary obol.

A third point lies in the addressees of the Cynics in their conversations. Diogenes speaks to Alexander the Great, Crates and Antisthenes, the shade of an old man, and King Mausolus in 29(24). He speaks to mythical characters only twice; once to Pollux in 1(1), when he issues the command to bring back Menippus; and once to Hercules in 11(16), in a *Dialogue* that is exactly parallel to Menippus' *Dialogue* 10(3) with Trophonius and Amphilochus (in which the claims of a hero or demi-god to be present both

³⁸ Menippus suggests that Tantalus drink hellebore at *Dialogue* 7. 2, but the advice is ironically meant (Menippus does not believe that the dead can drink) and Tantalus could not follow it even if he wanted to.

³⁹ Menippus himself implies a similar conviction when he argues with the suicide Chiron at 8. 1: *Οὐχ ήδὺ ἦν ζῶντα ὄρᾶν τὸ φῶς;*

in the Underworld and elsewhere are attacked as an absurdity). Menippus talks much more with the mythical characters of Hades. His *Dialogues* are with Hermes and Charon in 2(22); with Pluto and wealthy men like Croesus in 3(2); with Cerberus in 4(21), the famous *Dialogue* which speaks of Menippus' superiority to Socrates; with Hermes in 5(18), the even more famous *Dialogue* about the beauties of old that is the origin of Marlowe's "Is this the face that launched a thousand ships . . . ?"; Aeacus gives him a guided tour of Hades in 6(20); in 7(17) he tries to convince Tantalus that his punishment is impossible since hunger and thirst cannot exist in Hades; in 8(26) he reproaches Chiron for his suicide; in 9(28) he derides Teiresias as a typical lying prophet; in 10(3) he makes fun of the false oracles of Amphilius and Trophonius; in 20(10), the longest of Menippus' *Dialogues*, he and Hermes make fun of the passengers in Charon's boat; and in 30(25) he umpires a beauty contest between Nireus and Thersites. If we are to judge Menippus by the company he keeps, he is at home in a fantasy world, and is compelled by Lucian to face all the creatures of the Classical Underworld. There is some distinction, perhaps, between the agents of delivery and judgment (Charon, Hermes, Cerberus, Aeacus) and the more palpable frauds like Trophonius; even Diogenes seems to admit the power of the former.⁴⁰ But Menippus appears in 2(22) making fun of the myth of the obol required to cross on Charon's boat, and argues against the reality of the punishment of Tantalus, denying the evidence of his own eyes. Even if such mythological scenes were the essence of Menippus' *Nekyia*, Lucian has made them stand out as peculiar in the context of the *Dialogues of the Dead*.

It was already indicated that the mood of the *Dialogues* with Menippus changes through the collection. This point may now be made more specifically through a brief look at each of his *Dialogues*. In *Dialogue 2*, Menippus' contempt is for both his fellow dead and for Charon, whose fare he refuses to pay. Charon complains to Hermes of Menippus' mockery of the passengers and his singing over their lamentations; we also hear that he helped to bale and to row. Hermes explains to Charon that this is Menippus, who cares for no one and nothing. Charon threatens the upstart nuisance, but Menippus says that he will never catch Menippus again. In *Dialogue 3*, Croesus, Midas, and Sardanapalus complain to Pluto of the abuse they receive from Menippus; Pluto objects to Menippus' mockery, here too seen as disruptive of the normal order of the Underworld. Menippus promises to follow these rich men with songs, abuse, and a refrain of "Know Thyself." *Dialogue 4* has Cerberus telling what a coward Socrates was when he died, how he wailed and was frantic when he saw the abyss. Socrates was just like so many others: brave only as far as the entrance to the Underworld. But Menippus, like Diogenes before him, came down of his own accord, laughing and cursing. These three *Dialogues* show

⁴⁰ As Diogenes says to Alexander at 13. 3: οὐ γὰρ ἀμελής ὁ Αἰακὸς οὐδὲ ὁ Κέρβερος εὐκαταφρόνητος.

Menippus at his boldest, but it is notable that in *Dialogue 4*, Menippus is asking the questions and is learning from Cerberus. Even though the emphasis is on Menippus' virtues, Menippus begins his education at this point. The Underworld also is beginning to show an appreciation of Menippus' qualities (through Cerberus' speech) just as Menippus begins to show himself a little more pliable.

Dialogue 5, with Hermes, about the beauties of old, contains Menippus' bitter evaluations of the transience of beauty: he cannot tell Helen's skull from the rest. Hermes counters Menippus' criticisms of the futility of the Trojan War by saying that, had he seen her in the flesh, he would have thought Helen worth the effort and the toil. Menippus' comments become milder: he professes astonishment that the Greeks did not realize the ephemerality of the object of their desires. But it is Hermes who has the last word: there is no time for moralizing, Menippus must choose a spot to lie down in, and Hermes must be off. Death is an end not only to beauty but to discussion of its impermanence. *Dialogue 6*, Menippus' tour of Hades with Aeacus as guide and commentator, allows Menippus to mock Greek warriors of the Trojan War, barbarian potentates, and Greek philosophers like Pythagoras and Empedocles. He has trouble picking out Socrates, as all of the dead now have bald heads and snub noses. Menippus praises him for knowing nothing and for pursuing his homosexual love affairs even in Hades. Socrates invites Menippus to lie down with him and Charmides, Phaedrus, and Alcibiades; Menippus declines, intending to go laugh at Croesus and Sardanapalus; Aeacus says he will show Menippus the rest another time, but Menippus says that he has seen enough. The genial conversation between Menippus and Socrates (6. 6: "Good job, Socrates! Even here you exercise your peculiar skills and do not despise the beautiful!") shows that Menippus is not all gall and bile; and Menippus sees that there is another possible reaction to his new and strange surroundings: to give up philosophizing and practice pleasure. While this is not to Menippus' taste, he is learning that not all of the Underworld deserves his mockery. This comic Socrates is a far cry from the fraud Empedocles, and from the cowardly Socrates of *Dialogue 4*.

In *Dialogue 7*, Menippus tries to convince Tantalus that there is no hunger and thirst in the Underworld. Tantalus argues that his punishment is to feel thirst even though there can be no thirst in the Underworld; Menippus paradoxically proposes a better drink, hellebore, and Tantalus says he would be only too glad if he could drink anything. Menippus' lecture on the nature of life in Hades is pointless, as Tantalus' punishment is both a fact of the dialogue and has been provided with "rational" underpinnings: it is not that Tantalus is thirsty, but that his punishment includes an irrational thirst. Menippus emerges from this as a little silly. *Dialogue 8* has Menippus arguing with another mythical creature, Chiron, the centaur who committed suicide, despite his immortality, because he was tired of the monotony of the rhythms of life. When Menippus asks why it was not

pleasant to live in the light, we believe that he champions the values of life;⁴¹ and Menippus goes on to point out the monotony of death, and that the sensible man will not despise his lot in life. Menippus is not just being inconsistent, but is now shown as having second thoughts about his own suicide.

Dialogue 9 has Menippus talking to Teiresias the prophet. It begins on an intriguing note: Teiresias and Menippus have equal sight now from empty sockets.⁴² This is the first point at which Menippus is described as a skeleton, although for the purposes of the conversation this is not insisted upon. He questions Teiresias about his life as man and woman; Teiresias notes Menippus' skepticism, and when he asks whether Menippus disbelieves in all metamorphoses, Menippus answers that he will learn whether he believes on a case by case basis.⁴³ Teiresias tries to explain the other elements of the myths told about him (how he tried to settle the dispute between Zeus and Hera and so on); Menippus brands him a typical lying prophet. It is remarkable both that Teiresias, who supplied the Cynic truth to Menippus in Hades in *Necyomantia*, is here just another liar; and that Menippus is so concerned with debunking such hoary myths instead of supplying his normal moralizing and abuse. So too in *Dialogue 10*, in which Menippus briefly disposes of the claims of the false prophets Amphilochus and Trophonius to be partly dead and partly alive and prophesying elsewhere: we take leave of Menippus for a while in these *Dialogues* with his trenchant comment:

Οὐκ οἶδα, ὁ Τροφώνιε, ὅ τι καὶ λέγεις, ὅτι μέντοι ὄλος εἰ νεκρὸς ἀκριβῶς ὄρῳ.

Menippus comes to learn then that everyone in Hades is dead, himself included. Lucian makes fun of his “dialectic” by having him argue with the absurdities of the Underworld. This is one of many ways in which Lucian distances himself from Menippus and his moralizing. When we see him again in *Dialogue 20*, others sing his praises, and are more impressed by his indifference to death than he is. Menippus is on board Charon's boat with an assortment of vain people: philosophers, kings, athletes. In a properly surrealistic scene they are forced to strip themselves of those possessions that weigh down the boat: beards and eyebrows, flattery and deceit. A philosopher tells Menippus to take off his “independence, plain speaking, cheerfulness, noble bearing, and laughter” (20. 9, MacLeod's translation). It is Hermes, not Menippus, who says that such things are easy to carry and useful for the journey ahead. Menippus does say, in a few brief words, that he was glad to die at 20. 11, but then asks about a noise, which is of people above laughing at or lamenting the deaths of those in the

⁴¹ Cf. above, note 39.

⁴² ἄπασι γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁμοῖα τὰ ὅμματα, κενά, μόνον δὲ αἱ χῶραι αὐτῶν.

⁴³ 9. 3: "Ὕπου κάκείνας ἐντύχω, εἴσομαι ὅ τι καὶ λέγουσι.

boat. Hermes says that Menippus is the only one left in peace, but Menippus says that it will not be so; dogs will howl and birds will beat their breasts as they bury his body. Hermes praises Menippus' spirit, but Menippus ends the *Dialogue* by urging all, including himself, on to the judgment:

δικασθῆναι δεήσει, καὶ τὰς καταδίκας φασὶν εἶναι βαρείας,
τροχοὺς καὶ λίθους καὶ γῦπας· δειχθῆσται δὲ ὁ ἐκάστου βίος.

The *Dialogue* shows Menippus coming to accept his fate and not glorying in his own achievements. He still attacks bitterly the failings of others, but he seems to be aware of some need for moderation of the claims made for his own nature.

Dialogue 30, a sort of parody of the judgment of Paris, has Menippus judging a beauty contest between Nireus and Thersites, the mythical paradigms of the most beautiful and most loathsome of men. The characters are now bodies and now skeletons; Thersites speaks of his hair while Menippus says that he cannot tell them apart, and judges them by their bones and skulls. It ends on a note which is the theme of the *Dialogues of the Dead*: "All in Hades are equal, and all are alike" (30. 2: ισοτιμία γὰρ ἐν ἄδου καὶ ὄμοιοι ἄπαντες). This is good news for Thersites, who says, "That's all I wanted to hear" ('Εμοὶ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο ίκανόν). Menippus himself is certainly included in this generalization; his wisdom can only lie in realizing that his wisdom makes no difference.

IV. Some Conclusions

One of the more remarkable things about the *Dialogues of the Dead* is the general lack of humor at the expense of philosophical thought. The *Dialogues* do make fun of the hypocrisy of philosophers and the contradictions between their lives and their professed beliefs, but they do not show the spectacle of wrangling philosophers as did Timon's *Silloi*. And there is a very good reason for this: Death, the ultimate reality in these *Dialogues*, itself is an answer to all important philosophical questions.⁴⁴ Theory has no place in this world of revealed truth: as Pythagoras is made to say, in the touching line quoted as the epigraph to this article, "Among the dead there are different beliefs." The focus of the *Dialogues* is solely Menippus and his beliefs: they do not show philosophers learning the answers to their questions, but rather Menippus learning the unimportance of knowing the right answer all along. Two exceptions prove the rule.

⁴⁴ Agathias Scholasticus, *Anth. Pal.* XI. 354, suggests the path not taken in Lucian. In it, a student asks a teacher to tell him the meaning of life (referring to the immortality of the soul and related issues). The teacher, refusing to commit himself to any position, says that death, the separation of soul and body, will answer all the student's questions, and intimates that suicide is the quickest route to the answer.

First, at 20. 11, Hermes asks a moaning philosopher the reason for his distress; the latter answers that he thought that his soul was immortal. Hermes rightly sees that the philosopher is primarily distressed by the loss of his soft life above, but the more interesting implications of the notion of the mortality of the soul are not explored (Is there a difference between a soul and whatever animates these corpses? How are we to explain the ancients who talk in the Underworld unless some sort of immortality is implied? Does the word "soul" imply a blissful existence?). Second, *Dialogue 11(16)*, between Diogenes and the εὐδωλος of Heracles, is a pastiche of the passage from the *Nekyia* of *Odyssey*, XI. 601–04, in which we are told of the difference between the image of Heracles which inhabits the Underworld and his real self, which is on Olympus. The comic philosophical discussion which follows, on the distinction between soul and image, and the possibility of Heracles' having two souls, is the only philosophical discussion in the *Dialogues of the Dead*, and it does not involve Menippus.⁴⁵ It seems to be the only one of these *Dialogues* in which a fantastic creature could plausibly be argued out of some belief; the image of Heracles is all that exists, though it still resists being disabused of its belief that another part of himself lives gloriously elsewhere. Just what the nature of the image is remains unexplored.

The only philosophical position presented, defended, or parodied in the *Dialogues of the Dead* is that of Cynicism itself; specifically, Menippus' peculiar application of it. It is shown to be true and not true, meaningful and meaningless, a cause for hope and a cause for despair. This seems to be part of a general desire on Lucian's part to create works of comic criticism that do not allow the reader any one fixed or certain vantage point, or any privileged attitude or point of view.⁴⁶ But it is also perfectly reasonable that such *memento mori* pieces show the intractability and inconsistency of our ideas about death; and that they convince us that life, being all that we have, and despite its abundant follies, its transience, and its idols of pride and power, is better than death. Menippus the Scoffer is swallowed up by Death the Leveler, who humbles even those who lived in contempt of death. Perhaps in life Menippus pointed to the land of the dead as reason why people should reform in the land of the living. But Lucian turns Menippus into a preacher to the dead, and Menippus here uses his best arguments on the nightmare creatures of fantasy, demonstrating to phantasms that they do not exist, despite the fact that in death all are equal. Menippus and the frauds and fantasies that he mocks are one in the world of the dead. We

⁴⁵ For a complete discussion of the various ancient interpretations of this passage and their philosophical implications, see J. Pépin, "Héraclès et son reflet dans le néoplatonisme," *Le Néoplatonisme*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris 1971), pp. 167–92.

⁴⁶ As demonstrated in the case of the *Alexander* by Branham, "The Comic as Critic" (above, note 7), esp. 161–63, speaking of its narrator as "divided against himself."

laugh at those preoccupied with death as well as with life. Some truth may lie in the contemplation of the fate of Menippus in an Underworld both absurd and frustratingly real. At the beginning of the *Dialogues*, Menippus was merely dead. By the end, he has been buried.

And in this way the writings of Menippus in general may be set against the background of the second century. Lucian learns from Menippus, the self-parodying preacher and searcher for absolute truth, the folly of looking for and preaching absolute truth. In topical satires Lucian makes fun of all the pundits who have a shortcut to the truth: philosophers, magicians, religious frauds, quack doctors, and writers themselves. In his comic dialogue he sets up his own writing, highly allusive and playful, as a vehicle not designed to communicate ultimate truth. He may be a literary gamesman,⁴⁷ and his art may lie in not taking himself too seriously; but in the Second Sophistic not taking oneself too seriously is a sign not of weakness but of strength. Lucian does not succumb to the notion of the holiness of authorship; but in ways that are subtle, and in their own way magical, he calls attention to the rift between the sophistication of his style and the simplicity of his conclusions. Lucian sees himself as a preacher, and parodies what he would preach, lest anyone mistake preaching for truth.

At the end, a few words of praise for the *Dialogues* and an attempt to repair the strange neglect that has befallen them despite their fame. They are a true work of genius, repaying each rereading, and it is their fantasy that makes them so. The *Dialogues of the Dead* ask the reader to imagine a discussion between a corpse and a dog, between skeletons, between gods and men, on the topics of truth, reason, and life. These fantasies are in themselves quite arresting, but this is self-destructive fantasy. The fantasy does not, as we would expect, serve to make clearer some point about the real world, unless the point is that dogmatism and truth are as impossible above ground as they are below. The discussions seem to take place in the upper air, until some infernal detail drags them down to the world of make-believe. It is crucial that the reader acknowledge that these *Dialogues* are absurd, and then make the imaginative leap that would associate that absurdity with the real world. The calm elegance of the language, the smoothness and even the banality of the commonplace ideas, and the human emotions that peek through the surface of the argument: all these combine to make a bewildering and exciting sort of fantasy, and ultimately a real depth of thought, that can only be satisfactorily paralleled from a modern author. No one passage from the *Dialogues of the Dead* conveys the sense of the whole that may be felt as one reads them; instead, let a quotation from Italo Calvino's *Le Città Invisibili* (*Invisible Cities*) suggest the beauty of Lucian's Underworld:

⁴⁷ Duncan, Ben Jonson (above, note 16), p. 21.

Non c'è città più di Eusapia propensa a godere la vita e a sfuggire gli affanni. E perché il salto dalla vita alla morte sia meno brusco, gli abitanti hanno costruito una copia identica della loro città sottoterra. I cadaveri, seccati in modo che ne resti lo scheletro rivestito di pelle gialla, vengono portati là sotto a continuare le occupazioni di prima. Di queste, sono i momenti spensierati ad avere la preferenza: i più di loro vengono seduti attorno a tavole imbandite, o atteggiati in posizioni di danza o nel gesto di suonare trombette. Ma pure tutti i commerci e i mestieri dell'Eusapia dei vivi sono all'opera sottoterra, o almeno quelli cui i vivi hanno adempiuto con più soddisfazione che fastidio: l'orologiaio, in mezzo a tutti gli orologi fermi della sua bottega, accosta un'orechia incartapecorita a una pendola scordata; un barbiere insaponata con il pennello secco l'osso degli zigomi d'un attorre mentre questi ripassa la parte scrutando il copione con le occhiaie vuote; una ragazza dal teschio ridente munge una carcassa di giovenca.

Certo molti sono i vivi che domandano per dopo morti un destino diverso da quello che già toccò loro: la necropoli è affollata di cacciatori di leoni, mezzesoprano, banchieri, violinisti, duchesse, mantenute, generali, più di quanti mai ne contò città vivente.

L'incombenza di accompagnare giù i morti e sistemarli al posto voluto è affidata a una confraternità di incappucciati. Nessun altro ha accesso all'Eusapia dei morti e tutto quello che si sa di laggìù si sa da loro.

Dicono che la stessa confraternità esiste tra i morti e che non manca di dar loro una mano; gli incappucciati dopo morti continueranno nello stesso ufficio anche nell'altra Eusapia; lasciano credere che alcuni di loro siano già morti e continuino a andare su e giù. Certo, l'autorità di questa congregazione sull'Eusapia dei vivi è molto estesa.

Dicono che ogni volta che scendono trovano qualcosa di cambiato nell'Eusapia di sotto; i morti apportano innovazioni alla loro città; non molte, ma certo frutto di riflessione ponderata, non di capricci passeggeri. Da un anno all'altro, dicono, l'Eusapia dei morti non si riconosce. E i vivi, per non essere da meno, tutto quello che gli incappucciati raccontano delle novità dei morti, vogliono farlo anche loro. Così l'Eusapia dei vivi ha preso a copiare la sua copia sottoterranea.

Dicono che questo non è solo adesso che accade: in realtà sarebbero stati i morti a costruire l'Eusapia di sopra a somiglianza della loro città. Dicono che nelle due città gemelle non ci sa più modo di sapere quali sono i vivi e quali i morti.

No city is more inclined than Eusapia to enjoy life and flee care. And to make the leap from life to death less abrupt, the inhabitants have constructed an identical copy of their city, underground. All corpses, dried in such a way that the skeleton remains sheathed in yellow skin, are carried down there, to continue their former activities. And, of these activities, it is their carefree moments that take first place: most of the corpses are seated around laden tables, or placed in dancing positions, or made to play little trumpets. But all the trades and professions of the living Eusapia are also at work below ground, or at least those that the living performed with more contentment than irritation: the clockmaker, amid all the stopped

clocks of his shop, places his parchment ear against an out-of-tune grandfather's clock; a barber, with dry brush, lathers the cheekbones of an actor learning his role, studying the script with hollow sockets; a girl with a laughing skull milks the carcass of a heifer.

To be sure, many of the living want a fate after death different from their lot in life: the necropolis is crowded with big-game hunters, mezzo-sopranos, bankers, violinists, duchesses, courtesans, generals—more than the living city ever contained.

The job of accompanying the dead down below and arranging them in the desired place is assigned to a confraternity of hooded brothers. No one else has access to the Eusapia of the dead and everything known about it has been learned from them.

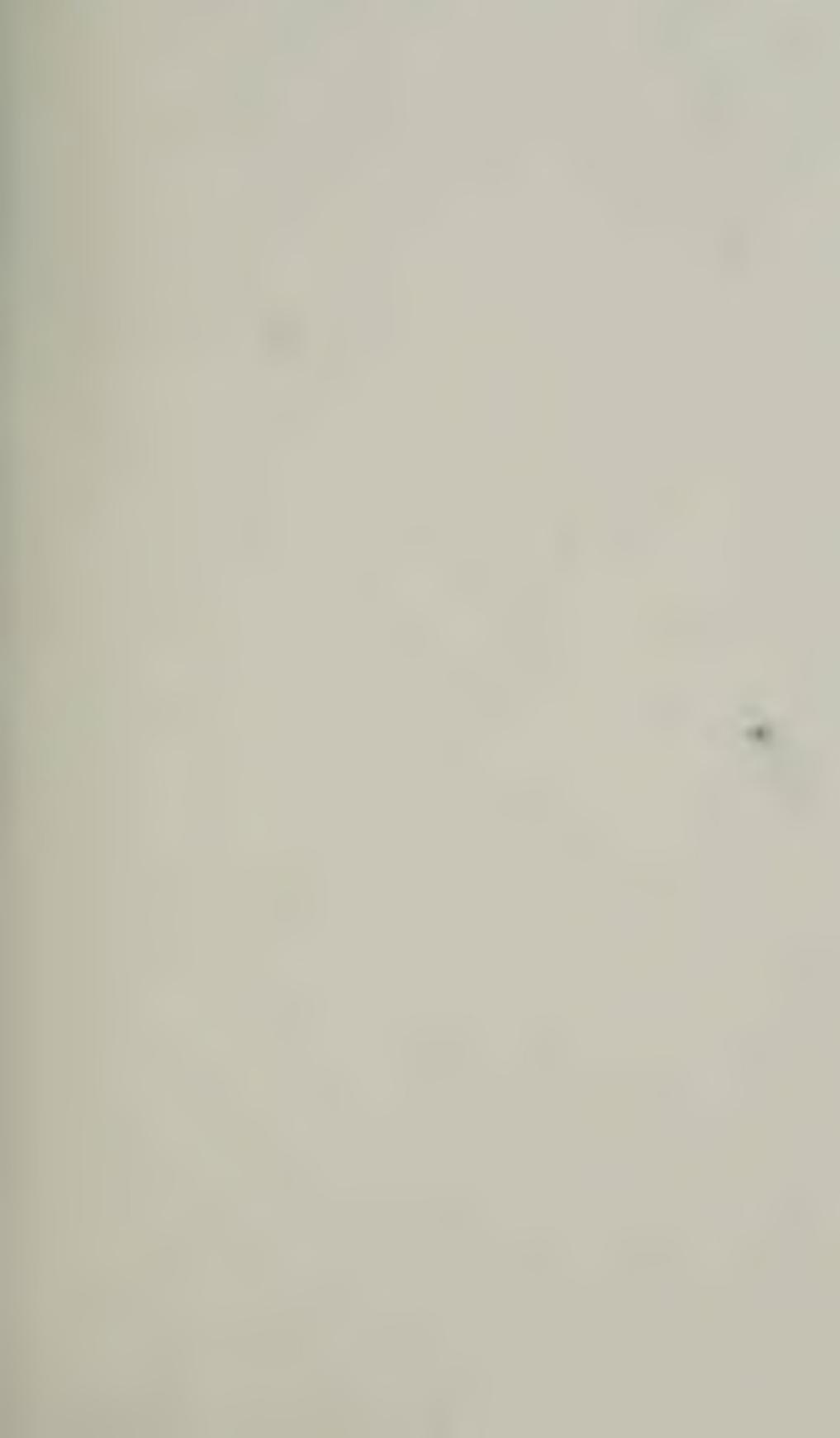
They say that the same confraternity exists among the dead and that it never fails to lend a hand; the hooded brothers, after death, will perform the same job in the other Eusapia; rumor has it that some of them are already dead but continue going up and down. In any case, this confraternity's influence in the Eusapia of the living is vast.

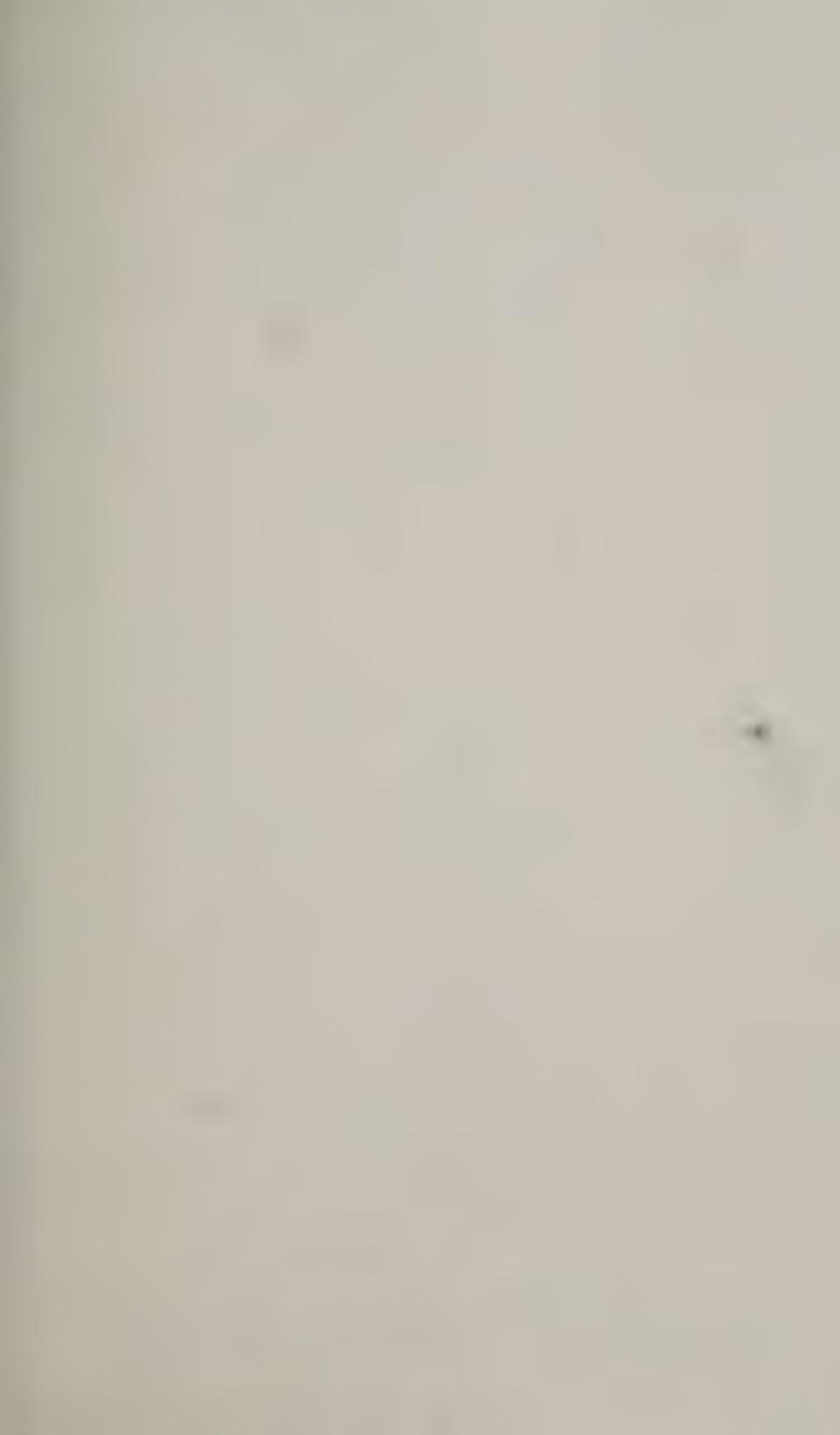
They say that every time they go below they find something changed in the lower Eusapia; the dead make innovations in their city; not many, but surely the fruit of sober reflection, not passing whims. From one year to the next, they say, the Eusapia of the dead becomes unrecognizable. And the living, to keep up with them, also want to do everything that the hooded brothers tell them about the novelties of the dead. So the Eusapia of the living has taken to copying its underground copy.

They say that this has not just now begun to happen: actually it was the dead who built the upper Eusapia, in the image of their city. They say that in the twin cities there is no longer any way of knowing who is alive and who is dead.⁴⁸

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⁴⁸ Italo Calvino, *Le città invisibili* (Turin 1972, repr. 1978), pp. 115–16: Eng. tr. *Invisible Cities*: "Cities and the Dead 3": by William Weaver, (San Diego, New York, London 1974), pp. 109–10.







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*Patet omnibus veritas; nondum est occupata;
multum ex illa etiam futuris relictum est.
Sen. Epp. 33. 11*

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Preface

DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVES

In his *History of the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Fernand Braudel chides the king for not removing his capital, after the conquest of Portugal in 1580, nearer to the Atlantic. Instead of looking to the New World, where economic progress was to make fantastic leaps into the future, he preferred to concentrate his gaze on the old and decaying Mediterranean, and the struggle with France for the legacy of Charlemagne; or for the legacy of Constantine and Justinian with an Ottoman Empire already, after the death of Süleyman in 1566, touched by senility. Thus at the apogee of the *siglo de oro*, in the midst of its glories, Spain was already sentencing itself, because of its fixation upon the past, to a long decline, a contest with its neighbors to find a place in a museum basement.

Economic forecasters nowadays talk of the Pacific Rim, as a proof that America must shift its own old preoccupations with the Atlantic and Europe away towards the new technologies of the East, visible in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore. And what will happen if ever China harnesses the genius and energies of its billion people, amply attested for previous centuries by Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilization in China*, to economic development on a large scale? What revolutions will that provoke in the United States?

But all this has an unexpected corollary for the western segment of the Asiatic land-mass. If the twenty-first century is to witness such changes, a transformed and computerized East will again have something to offer as valuable as the spices and silks that once drew caravans to cross deserts and mountains, or that sent Marco Polo from Venice to the court of Kublai Khan. If Europe too is to want its share of the import and export of goods and ideas from and to the Pacific Rim, unless everything is to go tediously and lengthily by sea, Asian land routes will re-acquire their ancient and immense importance, and again the Mediterranean will become the crossroads between East and West.

It may be that a reformed Soviet Empire will try to profit from this trade, and that would give the "Third Rome" and its Byzantine tradition fresh impetus indeed. But that system, so prolific in and so wasteful of its talents, is always likely to present uncertainties and difficulties. If the main routes run south of the USSR, there is the problem of Iran. But whatever pattern of traffic emerges, a simple glance at the map of Asia shows the strategic importance in any such configuration of Turkey, already a candidate

for membership of the European Common Market. Touching the Balkans and Greece at Byzantium, the Soviet Union at Kars, Iran at Urmia, so close to Egypt and the Suez Canal and yet, with the advent of the Channel Tunnel, soon to enjoy direct rail links with London, suddenly its people may throw off the lethargy of centuries; and the imperial ambitions of the Ottomans, now transferred to the commercial realm, may no longer seem to them a dream from the past, but the hope and possibility of a new future.

In all this, Classical scholarship, apparently so remote and study-bound, has, as usual, its own most modern and relevant role of interpretation and comment, "orientation" on this occasion in its most literal sense, to play. The intrusion of the Turkish people into the Mediterranean world, linguistically documented at such exhaustive length by Gyula Moravscik in his *Byzantinoturcica*, resembles another intrusion; that of the Romans into the struggles of the Diadochi. Who could believe that history had reserved any part for the farmers and shepherds of Latium amid such Hellenistic sophistication? And yet, in hindsight, who played the imperial role with such distinction? The most fruitful and indeed the only possible relationship for a Greek thrown into the company of the Younger Scipio was that selected by Polybius: not to reject, but to try to understand why history had chosen this new people as the bearers of its future. In the case of Turkey, we too must seek to understand. No country or people long sustains the burden of empire without some gift or calling.

The Romans—it was a token of their genius—carried into their new future a great deal of Greek cultural baggage. Islam in its turn has not been indifferent to the achievement of Byzantium. Already the court of Baghdad had attracted translators of Greek texts into Arabic; of Aristotle and his commentator Themistius, for example; of Galen, Dioscorides, even of the New Testament. In the tenth century, the Turkish writer Alpharabius adapted Plato's *Republic* to Islamic ideas. The Ottoman Turks continued this respect for learning. In the Dolmabache Palace, a Western painting in the *salon d' attente* reserved for ambassadors before their reception by the Sultan shows the young Conqueror Mehmed II entering through the breach in the city walls accompanied certainly by his troops, but also by his aged and venerable spiritual adviser Aksemreddin. In another painting, Mehmed and Aksemreddin watch the transportation overland of the warships that entered the Golden Horn from the Sea of Marmara. Venetian artists like Gentile Bellini and Titian worked for Mehmed and Süleyman. The medal struck for the former, saluting the Conqueror as *Imperator*, is in the purest Roman tradition, and it is this tradition which, soon after 1453, the Venetian traveller Giacomo de' Languschi invokes when he calls the youthful Sultan "as avid of fame as Alexander of Macedon." At the religious level, a convergence of imagination between the dome of the Ulu Mosque at Erzurum (1150), itself in debt to Byzantine churches, and that of the chapel of the Santa Sindone in Turin by Guarini (1688–94) presents no longer a merely aesthetic problem but a delight and mystery.

The publication therefore of these articles about "Byzantium and its Legacy" as a theme issue of *Illinois Classical Studies* needs no apologetic explanation in a State increasingly conscious of its need for an international outlook and breadth. But they are of as great relevance to the Classicist also. The immense urgency of Byzantine studies—they form the single most important area of Classical scholarship in our time—is that Byzantium redefines our task as we abandon the twentieth century. What puzzles and seems "irrelevant" in fragments makes sense in a pattern of the whole. It is the context that clamors for attention. "Only connect."

Superficially, it might seem attractive to the student who thinks he has exhausted Virgil to find authors as yet largely untouched, fresh victims for the scholarly scalpel. This approach is quite wrong. "Despite its appeal as a largely untilled field of philology, what Mommsen saw in the Byzantine world was the essential continuity of Roman law and administration; that is to say precisely those aspects of Roman civilization that he understood better than anyone else" (Brian Croke). It is not to get away from Virgil that we turn to Byzantium, but to understand him better when we go back to him. And this principle applies to all our work. Our aim is not to wander aimlessly in the forest counting the leaves on the trees, but to draw the contours of the sacred wood.

Mommsen died in 1903. Is it too much to hope that his words will be heeded a century later, even though during the preparation of this issue news arrived that in Britain at least chairs of Byzantine studies are being short-sightedly left unfunded? Already in our time the great problem for the Classicist is to look beyond the temporary and transient to the continuing inheritance, and even to dare to recognize that some things, judged by this criterion, do not matter. It is evident how much passed from Byzantium to Russia, and as the Church celebrates the millennium of the conversion of Prince Vladimir how much more visible that debt will be. It is less evident how much passed to the Ottoman Empire. But even handkerchiefs are relevant here. When, in the illustrations to the *Chronicle of the Szigetvar Campaign* by Osman, we see a seated Süleyman receiving his vassal Stephen Zpolya in Belgrade in 1566 while holding his ceremonial handkerchief, must it not be understood that we have a modern version of consular diptychs issued under Theodoric and Justinian showing a seated Boethius or Areobindus holding the *mappa*, or of the gesture of the governor Flavius Palmatus, whose standing statue from the late fifth century A.D., now in the Museum at Aphrodisias, also holds a similar symbol of authority in its right hand? And that tradition is already described by Ennius before 269 B.C. for Romulus and Remus as they took the auspices at the very foundation of Rome, *veluti consul cum mittere signum volt*.

Mommsen was right, and he was right because he was a Classicist, and so had material at his fingertips for comparison. There is striking continuity between New Rome and Old. Domitian is already a Byzantine monarch, and Statius, who may well be called the first Byzantine poet, in

his *Silvae* offers the proof. *Fessis vix culmina prendas / visibus, auratique putes laquearia caeli* (IV. 2. 30–31) of Domitian's banqueting hall sounds like a Santa Sophia six centuries before Tralles and Anthemius. Statius' poem is entitled *Eucharisticon*. It is not surprising then that his imperial iconography should have contacts even with Pushkin.

Ibn Khaldun, the great philosopher and theorist of cyclic history, died before Byzantium fell, but its collapse would not have puzzled him. When on Tuesday, May 29, 1453, the praise of Allah was intoned for the first time by an imam in Hagia Sophia, Tursun Beg, an eyewitness, describes how Sultan Mehmed II advanced to survey the fallen city and the domes of its church (tr. Bernard Lewis):

The Emperor of the World, having looked upon the strange and wondrous images and adornments that were on the concave inner surface, deigned to climb up to the convex outer surface, mounting as the spirit of God ascended to the fourth sphere of heaven. Looking down as he passed, from the battlements at each level, on to the marbled court below, he went up to the dome. When he saw the dependent buildings of this mighty structure fallen in ruin, he thought of the impermanence and instability of this world, and of its ultimate destruction. In sadness, a verse of his sweetness-diffusing utterance reached my humble ear, and remained engraved on the tablet of my heart:

The spider is curtain-bearer in the Palace of Chosroes.
The owl sounds the relief in the castle of Afrasiyab.

The Sultan was the heir of a long tradition. As the Younger Scipio in 146 B.C. watched the destruction of Carthage, he quoted in Greek from the prophecy of Menelaus in the fourth book of the *Iliad*:

ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ "Ιλιος ιρή,
καὶ Πριάμος, καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο.

Menelaus makes this prophecy because the Trojans have violated a solemn religious obligation, and the Romans continually struck this same theme in their anti-Carthaginian propaganda. *Punica fides* meant *Punica perfidia*. But did not Mehmed think of the Byzantines also as “infidels”?

History is a tale of blind men looking for a black cat in a darkened cellar. But the scholar's task is to emulate Thucydides and Ibn Khaldun, to throw light, to reveal patterns. This enterprise is fraught with difficulty, as Professor Cyril Mango and others have pointed out, stemming in part from the failure to see that Byzantine civilization is not a continuance of Hellenic, but of Hellenistic / Roman culture. Like Constantine, Justinian was a native speaker of Latin. The Byzantines were *Rhomaioi*, “Rum.” The “great idea,” as an increasing number of modern Byzantinists are telling us, is based on a great misapprehension.

D. V. Ainalov wrote at the beginning of this century on *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art* (Элленистические Основы

Византийского Искусства, Санкт Петербург, 1900). Classical antiquity is not a series of islands in a sea of decadence, but a seamless robe. In its shot-silk warp, the great urban centers of Alexandria and Byzantium focus complex, far-reaching, often "Hippodromic" and carnival patterns. Between these jewels is set Rome's mirror, refracting, altering, "contaminating." After them shine Kiev, Moscow, St. Petersburg, but also Istanbul. If only our students would begin to understand the panorama and the vision—the diachronic perspectives—they must have if Classical scholarship is to live—

Nel suo profondo vidi che s'interna
legato con amore in un volume,
ciò che per l'universo si squaderna.

Dante is central to European poetry, and both verbal reminiscence and ring composition show that the source and trigger of Dante's insight was Roman Virgil:

Vagliami 'l lungo studio e 'l grand' amore
ch m'ha fatto cercar lo tuo volume.

We cannot raise our students to those heights quickly. But perhaps we can make a beginning. Perhaps with the aid of Byzantium we can widen their horizons rather than, as we do too often, bind them in nutshells and then count them—mock them—as kings of infinite space.

With this issue, my five-year Editorship of *Illinois Classical Studies* comes to an end. Of the 104 articles published during this time, 39 have been by authors whose affiliation either now or earlier has been with the University of Illinois. At a more personal level, and since this is the aim of all our endeavors, I have been delighted to include the work (in this order) of Peter Howell of Bedford and Royal Holloway Colleges, University of London; Paul Holberton of the Warburg Institute, University of London; John Dillon of Trinity College, Dublin; Radd Ehrman of Kent State University; and Julian Raby of the Oriental Institute, University of Oxford, all former students of mine at different periods of my career.

Finally, I would like to thank all who have helped in any way: in particular Professor Nina Baym, Professor Edward Sullivan and the School of Humanities; Professor Clayton Dawson; the Editorial Committee; Mrs. M. E. Fryer for her cheerful and devoted service; and above all Frances Stickney Newman, without whose unceasing toil none of this would have been possible.

J. K. Newman

Byzantium and its Legacy

'Ρώμη παμβασίλεια, τὸ σὸν κλέος οὗποτ' ὀλεῖται·
Νίκη γάρ σε φυγεῖν ἄπτερος οὐ δύναται.

A. P. IX. 647

...летит мимо все, что ни есть на земле, и, косясь, постораниваются и дают ей дорогу другие народы и государства.

N. V. Gogol', *Dead Souls*

Contents

1. Byzantium's Role in the Formation of Early Medieval Civilization: Approaches and Problems 207
MICHAEL McCORMICK, Dumbarton Oaks and The Johns Hopkins University
2. The Mantle of Earth 221
HENRY MAGUIRE, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
3. An Introduction to Byzantine Monasticism 229
ALICE-MARY TALBOT, Cleveland Heights, Ohio
4. Religious Key Terms in Hellenism and Byzantium: Three Facets 243
HENRY AND RENÉE KAHANE, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
5. Grammar and Rhetoric in Euthymius Zigabenus' Commentary on *Psalms* 1–50 265
THOMAS M. CONLEY, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
6. The *Itinerary* of Constantine Manasses 277
MIROSLAV MARCOVICH, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
7. Das Ende Neuroms in der Sicht der deutschen Zeitgenossen 293
JOHANNES IRMSCHER, Berlin, DDR
8. Mehmed the Conqueror and the Byzantine Rider of the Augustaion 305
J. RABY, The Oriental Institute, University of Oxford
9. Domitian, Justinian and Peter the Great: The Ambivalent Iconography of the Mounted King 315
J. K. NEWMAN, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

1

Byzantium's Role in the Formation of Early Medieval Civilization: Approaches and Problems

MICHAEL McCORMICK

Until recently, Europe from the collapse of Roman power in the fifth century to the Carolingian achievement in the ninth—the early Middle Ages—has been the poor step-child of modern historical research. The reasons are not hard to find. Contemporary sources are few and difficult, their language is laced with obscurity, and lingering prejudice against the “dark ages” can still be perceived, especially in North America. But because a problem is difficult does not mean that it can be ignored. And it is increasingly difficult to deny that the long twilight period on the edges of Antiquity and the Middle Ages was fertile and even decisive for the destiny of medieval—and modern—civilization.

These centuries prepared the ground on which the high Middle Ages would build and out of which the modern world would grow. Not a few salient characteristics of contemporary western civilization appear there for the first time. It was then that Christianity conquered northern Europe and that the Germanic, Slavic and Arab peoples emerged as key players on the world stage. It is here that we find the direct ancestors of phenomena as diverse as Europe's modern nation states and today's “Roman” alphabet, a style of writing invented by the scribes of Charlemagne's kingdom in the eighth century.

While many factors which shaped early medieval Europe must be sought, of course, within that civilization's internal development, there is little reason to think that outside stimulus was less influential here than in other, comparable cultures.¹ And few would deny that the diffusion of a civilization's culture beyond its frontiers is of great historical significance to

¹ See e.g. P. D. Curtin, *Cross-cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge 1984), p. 1.

understanding both that civilization and its beneficiaries. In the case before us, Byzantium's contribution beyond its boundaries has been detected in domains as diverse as the music, art, thought, political symbolism and language of the early medieval West. Thus, it was Byzantium that supplied the organs which Carolingian rulers first introduced into church services.² Early and middle Byzantine masterpieces inspired Carolingian and Ottonian book illuminators, while the court of Constantinople provided the very manuscript which stands at the beginning of western theology's neoplatonizing mysticism.³ The extent to which the medieval West and its heirs have assimilated their Byzantine inheritance is suggested by the surprise one feels at discovering that this legacy includes state welcome ceremonies such as we now see at airports, or that Byzantium gave us words—and the realities behind them—like “ink,” “pasta,” “bronze,” “boutique,” and “diaper.”⁴

Even this small sampling indicates the depth and duration of Byzantium's impact on the West. It would be an easy task to add to it.⁵ But rather than lengthen a list which scholars have already made imposing, I would like to explore some of the historical complexities of Byzantium's role in shaping early medieval civilization. For it is remarkable that very little effort has been devoted to the deeper issues which underlie the phenomenon and how historians understand it. Was Byzantine influence a constant factor in the early Middle Ages or did it fluctuate, and if so, how and why? Is every parallel occurrence in East and West due to Byzantium's influence on the West—or vice versa—, or are there mirage influences? And what do we really know about the dynamics of cross-cultural exchange in the “dark ages”? Even if it proves impossible to resolve these questions, it is high time to raise them.

² D. Schuberth, *Kaiserliche Liturgie. Die Einbeziehung von Musikinstrumenten, insbesondere der Orgel, in den frühmittelalterlichen Gottesdienst* (Göttingen 1968), pp. 114–34.

³ For Byzantine art and the West, see, e.g., A. Grabar, “L'asymétrie des relations de Byzance et de l'Occident dans le domaine des arts au moyen âge,” *Byzanz und der Westen*, ed. I. Hutter (Vienna 1984), pp. 9–24. On neoplatonizing mysticism, see below, pp. 217 ff. For a general survey of Byzantine thinkers and their western impact see M. V. Anastos, “Some Aspects of Byzantine Influence on Latin Thought,” *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, ed. M. Clagett *et al.* (Madison 1966), pp. 130–88.

⁴ On the early Byzantine roots of medieval political welcomes, see E. H. Kantorowicz, “The ‘King's Advent’ and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina,” *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley 1965), pp. 37–75; cf. M. McCormick, “Clovis at Tours, Byzantine Public Ritual and the Origins of Medieval Ruler Symbolism,” *Acts of the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on Byzantium and the Barbarians* (Vienna, in press); for the linguistic legacy see the remarkable study of H. and R. Kahane, “Abendland und Byzanz: [Literatur und] Sprache,” *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, 1 (Amsterdam 1976), 345–639, esp. 362, 364, 379–80 and 385–86.

⁵ For systematic overviews, see O. Mazal, *Byzanz und das Abendland* (Graz 1981), and W. Ohnsorge *et al.*, “Abendland und Byzanz,” *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, 1 (Amsterdam 1969–), 126 ff.

But, before these issues are attacked, it must be emphasized that modern scholarship's very positive appraisal of Byzantium's creative role in the formation of early medieval culture is a recent development. It reflects the remarkable achievement of modern Byzantine studies which have at last shaken off the old prejudices bequeathed by the competition and conflict between the upstart West and the legitimate eastern heir of Roman authority. It reflects no less the development of early medieval studies, at last relieved of the nineteenth century's romantic and nationalistic agendas.

By applying new methods and newer questions, today's Byzantinists are exploding the image of a culture frozen in time, crystallized by Yeats' famous poems—"Monuments of unageing intellect"—and perpetuated by the Byzantines themselves.⁶ The results reveal a dynamic society, torn between the reality of change and its own ideology of continuity.⁷ The upheavals of our own time have lent new legitimacy to what is without question the discipline's most flourishing sector, the early Byzantine period. It stretches from Diocletian's reform of the Roman state down to the shattering events of Heraclius' reign and the advent of Islam. Under its new name of "late antiquity," this era's disturbing features of modernity assert its relevance as it emerges from the sentence of "decadence" imposed by the eighteenth century's neoclassical revival.⁸ At the same time that late antique specialists have begun to lay bare the hitherto disdained institutions and characteristics of the early Byzantine empire, medievalists have turned a skeptical eye to the presumed Germanic origins of many aspects of western society. Contemporaries of World War II and its aftermath find less appeal in the argument from silence and some curious assumptions about the nature of early Germanic society when they must explain early medieval phenomena not attested by the older handbooks of classical civilization.⁹ At this point, their research increasingly encounters the splendid results of their Byzantinist colleagues and concludes, either that both Germanic and late Roman roots are possible, or indeed, that supposedly Germanic phenomena

⁶ M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge 1986), p. 395.

⁷ Though the debate is not yet concluded: cf. G. Weiss, "Antike und Byzanz. Die Kontinuität der Gesellschaftsstruktur," *Historische Zeitschrift* 224 (1977), 529–60 with A. P. Kazhdan and A. Cutler, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History," *Byzantion* 52 (1982), 429–78.

⁸ See the excellent essay by H. I. Marrou, *Décadence romaine ou antiquité tardive? III^e–V^e siècle* (Paris 1977), pp. 9–14.

⁹ Anton Baumstark (1872–1948), the distinguished historian of early Christian liturgy, illustrates how tacit assumptions about primeval "Germanness" affected historical analysis. In his fundamental study *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie* (Freiburg 1923), p. 85, Baumstark presumed that a military liturgical service attested in seventh-century Spain was a creation of the "germanische Blutart." In fact, the Visigothic ritual fits smoothly into the emerging picture of how the Byzantine army's liturgy of war developed from the sixth century on: McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 308–12; cf. pp. 245–49 and 394–95.

are actually protobyzantine in character.¹⁰ In other words, the medievalist discovers continuity between his subject and late antiquity thanks to the Byzantinist's success at uncovering the change from classical to early Byzantine civilization!

However great Byzantium's impact on the West, it could scarcely have remained constant over some five centuries. The first task then is to gauge the relative importance of that phenomenon over time. Yet such efforts are exceedingly rare.¹¹ A tentative effort is therefore useful if only to indicate the complexity of the task and the reality it addresses. While a definitive appraisal must await extensive research on topics ranging from technology to cuisine, a practical alternative is to draw a provisional picture from one sector of the evidence and then distinguish the limitations of that picture.

A recent study has demonstrated how the early medieval West adopted and adapted one of late antiquity's most potent clusters of political belief and ritual, the myth of the eternal victory of the Romano-Byzantine state.¹² The result suggests a triple articulation over time. The first phase runs from the fifth century until sometime in the seventh; the second encompasses the later seventh and eighth centuries, while the third continues past the Carolingians. In the first, the impact of contemporary Byzantine civilization is massive, if not to say dominant. In the second, it seems very limited; in the third, Byzantium begins anew to make its influence felt.

The overwhelming impact of early Byzantium on western rulership is readily understandable: indeed, it is scarcely justifiable to speak of cross-cultural contacts in the fifth or sixth centuries when East and West, North and South bathed in a kind of *koine* Mediterranean culture.¹³ The first fitful steps toward a distinctive western style of rulership were naturally guided by the prestigious models of late Roman governance that lay ready to hand, and Germanic rulers sought to anchor their new power in traditions both familiar to the vast majority of their new subjects and impressive to their non-

¹⁰ Thus P. D. King's excellent study of *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge 1972) repeatedly notes the possibility or conviction of both Germanic and late Roman roots for a number of Visigothic institutions: e.g. the beliefs behind oaths of allegiance (pp. 41–42) or dowries (p. 225). Another good example is the ongoing debate about the Germanic or protobyzantine origins of late antiquity's private military retainers, the *bucellarii*. Even W. Kienast, "Gefolgswesen und Patrocinium im spanischen Westgotenreich," *Historische Zeitschrift* 239 (1984), 23–75, esp. 26 ff. and 48 ff., the most recent defender of distant Germanic roots, acknowledges the evidence's slenderness, while O. Behrends, "Buccelarius [sic]," *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 4 (Berlin 1981), 28–31, denies them outright. Neither knows J. Gascou's important contribution "L'institution des Bucellaires," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 76 (1976), 143–56, in which the testimony of the early Byzantine papyri tends to strengthen Behrends' point of view.

¹¹ The most remarkable exception lies in the pioneering effort of H. and R. Kahane, "Abendland" (above, note 4), pp. 440–51.

¹² McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 392–94.

¹³ P. Brown, "Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity: A Parting of the Ways," *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1982), pp. 166–95, here 173.

Roman followers.¹⁴ By the second half of the seventh century, however, the situation had changed both inside and outside the so-called Germanic kingdoms. Within because, by this time, the new monarchies of Visigoths, Franks and even Lombards had grown old in their turn. They had developed the heterogeneous legacies of their founders along novel lines dictated by the unique circumstances and experience of each. Outside because, as Pirenne emphasized, the advent of Islam—and the Slavs—helped disrupt diminishing contacts between eastern and western Mediterranean centers. Intercourse on the crucial level of provincial civilization slackened too, as Constantinople's outlying Latin provinces of Spain, North Africa, Italy and the western Balkans were swept or nibbled away. From mid-eighth century on, much of western Europe came under Frankish dominion and entered an era of political, social, cultural and, it would appear, economic consolidation that fostered renewed contacts with Byzantium and the importation of elements of eastern civilization, not to mention traffic in the opposite direction.¹⁵

The pattern in contacts attested by state symbolism appears to find comfort in the best documented area of exchange: diplomatic missions between sovereigns. Thus a recent history of Byzantine diplomacy in the early medieval west shows that Constantinople dispatched 39 missions to rulers of Western states over the nearly 16 decades separating the collapse of the imperial government in Ravenna in 476 and 634 A.D., an average approaching two and one half per decade. The fifteen decades from the middle of the eighth century to 900 A.D. record 34 such embassies, slightly over two per decade. The eleven and one half decades between 634 and 750 stand in stark contrast: they show no embassies from Constantinople to the West¹⁶

There is, moreover, a rough correlation between phases of western receptivity and the fortunes of Byzantine political and cultural power. The resurgence that began in the fifth century and endured into the seventh entailed extensive politico-military presence and intervention in the West, symbolized by Justinian's reconquest. The loss of the empire's wealthiest

¹⁴ McCormick, "Clovis at Tours" (above, note 4).

¹⁵ H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, tr. B. Miall (New York 1939). For a good selection of articles devoted to the "Pirenne Thesis," see P. E. Hübinger, *Bedeutung und Rolle des Islam beim Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter*, Wege der Forschung 202 (Darmstadt 1968); R. Hodges and D. Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis* (Ithaca 1983), offer a stimulating revision founded on recent archaeological work which should be read in conjunction with D. Claude's thorough reexamination of the written evidence: *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philolog.-hist. Kl. 3, 144 (Göttingen 1985).

¹⁶ Based on T. C. Loungis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident depuis la fondation des États barbares jusqu'aux croisades (407–1096)* (Athens 1980), pp. 462–77. In no case have I counted emissaries to popes, nor, in the third period, to the Venetian doges, since Venice must still be reckoned as belonging to the Byzantine empire into the ninth century: F. C. Lane, *Venice, a Maritime Republic* (Baltimore 1973), p. 5.

provinces toward the middle of the seventh century forced on Constantinople a financial crisis of unparalleled proportions and inevitably undermined Byzantium's positions in the West. Finally, the eighth century brought renewed stability and rekindled the political and cultural ambitions of a significant but diminished imperial power, ambitions which peaked in the ninth and tenth centuries, precisely the time when Byzantine influence again becomes very apparent.¹⁷

Useful though this broad chronological pattern may appear as a provisional framework, it cannot stand without qualification for all facets and regions of medieval culture. Its concern with the symbolism of state slants its focus toward the monarchy, an institution whose development and prestige may not reflect developments at less exalted levels of society. The analysis of early medieval cross-cultural exchange must be socially differentiated, especially since archaeology hints that court milieux at opposite ends of the Mediterranean may have shared more material culture with each other than with the less privileged groups on their respective doorsteps.¹⁸ That the broad chronology closely parallels the distribution of the surviving written sources raises the question of the value of the argument from silence. And the pattern suffers one important geographical exception: throughout this period and beyond, Italy's integration into the Byzantine world was so extensive that Peter Classen has reckoned Italy's forcible removal from the Byzantine to the northern sphere as the ninth century's most significant contribution to the birth of Europe.¹⁹ What is more, the correlation between Byzantium's political power and the diffusion of its influence varies according to the aspect of civilization one examines. Thus the collapse of Byzantine rule in the near East was precisely the factor which triggered an important immigration of that region's Greek-speaking elite to Italy, especially Rome, and explains why the pope should send a Greek from Tarsus to revitalize Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons.²⁰ Nor does the reader need to be reminded of the connection between the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the arrival of Greek scholars in the West associated with the Renaissance. Nonetheless, the fact remains that these considerations affect only the middle period; the unclarity of the situation between the fourth decade of the seventh century and the middle of the eighth cannot obscure the great difference between the fifth and ninth centuries.

Byzantine influence in the field of political symbolism therefore fluctuated over time. The preceding considerations also suggest that its

¹⁷ On the fiscal crisis of the seventh century, see the remarkable synthesis of M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300–1450* (Cambridge 1985), pp. 613 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. H. Vierck, "Imitatio imperii und interpretatio Germanica vor der Wikingerzeit," *Les pays du Nord et Byzance*, ed. R. Zeitler (Uppsala 1981), pp. 64–113, here pp. 81 ff.

¹⁹ P. Classen, "Italien zwischen Byzanz und dem Frankenreich," *Ausgewählte Aufsätze, Vorträge und Forschungen* 28 (Sigmaringen 1983), pp. 85–115.

²⁰ J. M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e–fin du IX^e s.)* 1 (Brussels 1982), pp. 123–24 and 190–91.

intensity varied geographically—frontier provinces enjoyed a privileged position—and according to social status.²¹

An accurate assessment of the changing patterns of Byzantium's role in the formation of early medieval civilization must pay close heed to what really constitutes evidence of cross-cultural exchange. Too frequently, the mere observation of parallels between East and West is reckoned sufficient proof that contemporaneous influence was at work. But the particular historical circumstances of Byzantium and the West can foster the mirage of cross-cultural exchange, particularly in the second and third periods. The mirage may only distort the moment and direction of exchange, or it may affect its reality.

First, the surviving evidence's distribution over time and space is very uneven. In sheer volume, the evidence of almost all kinds—narrative and documentary sources, images, buildings, manuscripts—which survives from the western kingdoms between 600 and 750 far surpasses what has come down to us from contemporary Byzantium. It therefore stands to reason that if there were indeed contacts between these two cultures, institutions or customs which originated in Byzantium might crop up first in the better documented medieval West. And in fact, penal practice, the liturgy and royal insignia have all revealed cases which confirm this pattern.²²

Further precision in defining the moment of exchange may well result from Byzantinists' increasing success at stripping from their subject the veil of continuity Byzantium has thrown over its evolution. There are in any case numerous parallels between the two civilizations which reflect residual, rather than recent exchange. Two examples chosen from different layers of reality illustrate and clarify this point.

Specialists in Byzantine manuscripts know well a conventional jingle with which Greek scribes often concluded the arduous labor of copying a text:

ώς ήδὺ τοῖς πλέουσιν εῦδιος λιμήν,
οὔτως καὶ τοῖς γράφουσιν ὁ ὕστατος στίχος.

A calm port is no sweeter for sailors,
Than the last line for scribes.

The most recent study of the poem's history observed that a nearly identical Latin colophon occurs in a manuscript copied in Merovingian France, some

²¹ On the first point, cf. D. Obolensky, "Byzantine Frontier Zones and Cultural Exchanges," *Actes du XIV^e Congrès international des études byzantines* 1 (Bucharest 1974), 302–14; concerning the second, I Ševčenko has noted a similar social stratification of Byzantine influence among the Slavs: "Byzanz und die Slaven," *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 122 (1985), 97–115, here 110–11.

²² Penal practice: R. S. Lopez, "Byzantine Law and Its Reception by the Germans and the Arabs," *Byzantion* 16 (1942–43), 445–61; liturgy: McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 394–95; insignia: Vierck, "*Imilatio*" (above, note 18), pp. 83 ff.

two centuries before the earliest attested Greek version. Does this imply that Merovingian copyists influenced their Byzantine counterparts? The uneven geographical distribution of surviving MSS combines with scant seventh-century evidence of cross-cultural exchange to caution against a hasty conclusion. That seventh-century book production saw little innovation points to an earlier origin. In fact, a closely related *topos* occurs in Cassiodorus, one of the sixth century's most outstanding intermediaries between East and West, and indicates that the medieval Greek and Latin texts both derived from a common ancestor in the bilingual book culture of late antiquity.²³

A second case comes from the realm of costume which, in the early Middle Ages, emblematised ethnic identity. Einhard's famous sketch of Charlemagne's life-style emphasizes that he steadfastly avoided "foreign" clothes (*peregrina . . . indumenta*), preferring "native" Frankish dress. He says that in summertime Charlemagne wore a short cloak called a *sagum*. Now Byzantine officials of the ninth century also wore similar garments called *sagia*, but this parallel demonstrates neither Frankish influence on Byzantium nor vice versa. In fact, it is easy to establish that the word and the garment appeared in the classical world long before the Franks. The Franks adopted this kind of cloak along with many other elements of the pan-Mediterranean material culture into which they settled, even as the Byzantines remained faithful to the same traditions.²⁴

In both instances, eastern and western societies show close parallels which do not correspond to recent cross-cultural exchange. The historical link is indirect, in that both derive from the late antique matrix which spawned the two cultures. The cloak and the jingle tell us nothing, however, about Byzantium's relations with the Franks in the ninth century. Here at least the common ancient origin explains the parallels, and rules out recent influence. A final, enigmatic set of phenomena admits no such explanation and underscores the limits of current historical understanding. They might be called structural parallels.

It is a remarkable yet little commented fact that, in their individual developments, both eastern and western halves of Christendom display some striking parallels for which satisfying residual or recent cross-cultural causes

²³ K. Treu, "Der Schreiber am Ziel. Zu den Versen "Ωσπερ ξένοι χαιρουσιν . . . und ähnlichen," *Studia codicologica, Texte und Untersuchungen* 124 (Berlin 1977), pp. 473–92; cf. M. McCormick, *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), 191*, no. 960 and, for a new example, M. Manfredini, "Ancora un codice con la formula "Ωσπερ ξένοι . . . ,"*Codices manuscripti* 10 (1984), 72. Cassiodorus plays with this metaphor when he introduces his treatise on the soul as an additional thirteenth book added to the twelve of *Variae: De Anima*, 1, ed. J. W. Halpern, *Corpus Christianorum, series latina* 96 (1972), 534. 1–2.

²⁴ Charlemagne's dress: Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni*, 23, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum germanicarum* (Hanover and Leipzig 1911), pp. 27. 22–28. 12; Byzantine dignitaries: N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris 1972), p. 170, n. 154.

have not yet emerged. Their detailed analysis and explanation must await the birth of a comparative approach to early medieval history, but the existence of such parallels can no longer be denied. It is, for instance, quite clear that between 750 and 850 both the Greek and Latin-speaking worlds perfected new, smaller, more economical book calligraphies called minuscule scripts. The new scripts marked a cultural epoch in more than one respect. They broke decisively with the old majuscule book-hands which had dominated classical Graeco-Roman literary culture and ensured its transmission. For this reason the emergence of minuscule necessitated the transliteration of each culture's classical heritage into the new script if it was to remain easily intelligible to later readers. And it is well known that what was not transliterated by western or Byzantine scribes has mostly disappeared.²⁵ The new minuscules also happen to be the archetypes of our modern Greek and "Roman" scripts.

The history of political ceremonial furnishes another example. Both eastern and western monarchies of the ninth century share a common shift in the main audience of the sovereign's ceremonial away from the emphasis on a mass audience obvious in their common early Byzantine matrix. While neither Byzantine emperors nor Frankish kings completely neglected the general public in their ceremonial display, it is safe to say that they paid more attention to an elite audience recruited from each society's aristocracy. I at least have uncovered no evidence to suggest that this parallel development was due to cross-cultural cause and effect or some form of imitation. It seems to reflect independent responses to similar but independent developments in each polity's social and political structure.²⁶

²⁵ On the emergence of the Latin (Carolingian) minuscule, see B. Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters* (Berlin 1979), pp. 137–39 and 143–47. C. Mango ("La culture grecque et l'Occident au VIII^e siècle," *I problemi dell'Occidente nel secolo VIII*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 20 [Spoleto 1973], pp. 683–721, here pp. 716–21) boldly suggested that the use of Latin minuscule at Rome may have inspired the Greek phenomenon. Although this view has failed to gain acceptance (cf. G. Cavallo and O. Kresten, *ibid.*, pp. 845–57; Sansterre, *Moines grecs*, 2, p. 219, n. 315), and Professor Mango has himself acknowledged the difficulty of identifying a precise link, it has clarified the issues. Cf. C. Mango, "L'origine de la minuscule," *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris 1977), pp. 175–79, esp. 177–78. A further element which merits exploration is the roughly contemporaneous adoption of a minuscule in Georgian, the oldest dated example of which seems to be a book copied at St. Sabas near Jerusalem in 864 A.D.: Sinai, St. Catherine's, Georg. 32, 57 and 33 (three volumes of the same book); cf. G. Garitte, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinaï*, Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, Subsidia 9 (Louvain 1956), pp. 72–97, esp. 93–95; illustrated in I. Abuladze, *K'art'uli Ceris Ninusebi* (Tbilisi 1973), p. 83. I owe this last information to the kindness of my colleague Robert W. Thomson, Director of Dumbarton Oaks.

²⁶ See McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 395. Another possible example has been noted by P. Speck, "Ikonokasmus und die Anfänge der Makedonischen Renaissance," *Varia 1*, Poikila byzantina 4 (Bonn 1984), pp. 175–210, esp. 195–97, who emphasizes the near contemporaneous development of Renaissance-like movements in Byzantium, the Frankish West and the Abbasid

A third illustration comes from just beyond the period under discussion here and testifies to yet another field of human activity: at roughly the same time, family names became a familiar feature of both Byzantine and western aristocratic kinships. So far not a shred of evidence has come forth to suggest a causal link between the two cultures.²⁷

Transformations in script, political ceremonial and personal names stem from three very different layers of reality. Neither the shared experience of Byzantium and the West in late antiquity nor cross-cultural influence seems to offer sufficient explanation for any of these striking parallels. In other words, one must begin to explore the possibility that in two sibling cultures which issued from a common matrix, similar processes developed independently around the same time for reasons that so far escape us. Again, mere parallelism of the evidence does not suffice to show influence.

If we turn from the mirage of Byzantine influence back to the reality, to organs, manuscripts, theological treatises and political symbolism, we are forced to observe that historians' success at uncovering examples of Byzantine influence has not been matched by advances in understanding how and why it occurred. One pressing task must be to clarify the nature of Byzantine influence in the West. The first obstacle is the word influence itself. It implies that the society which "receives" the foreign "influence" plays a passive role, inertly absorbing the output of another society. In reality, the process is usually quite the opposite: the borrower takes the initiative in appropriating from the "donor" society an element which it deems useful.²⁸ A few established cases of Byzantium's contribution to western society develop and clarify some key issues behind the process.

It has been observed that Charlemagne's writing office adopted from Constantinople the custom of authenticating certain documents by hanging lead seals from them. Hitherto, Frankish kings had used only seals made of wax. However, Charlemagne's clerks adapted the borrowed custom to the new, "archaeological" taste prevalent at his court by rejecting contemporary Byzantine standards of facing portraiture, and resurrecting profile views associated with early Byzantium.²⁹ The borrowing milieu reflected its own internal requirements and fashioned the borrowed element to its own

West and the Abbasid Caliphate. He suspects that the Byzantine revival may have been spurred by rivalry with the Arabs.

²⁷ Although Byzantium seems to have had something of a head start over the West, aristocratic family names spread through both societies in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: A. P. Kazhdan, *Социальный состав господствующего класса Византии XI-XII вв.* (= *The Social Structure of Byzantium's Ruling Class in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*) (Moscow 1974), pp. 223–26 and K. Schmid, *Gebetsgedenken und adeliges Selbstverständnis im Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Beiträge* (Sigmaringen 1983), pp. 212–18.

²⁸ P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica*, 13. 3 (Stuttgart 1956), pp. 1068–1072; cf. P. Brown, "Eastern and Western Christendom" (above, note 13), pp. 171–72.

²⁹ P. E. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751–1190*, ed. F. Mütherich (Munich² 1983), pp. 35–36.

distinctive cultural context. In other words, this appropriation of a Byzantine custom tells us as much about the differences between the two civilizations as their similarities.

Yet even so clear an example of cross-cultural borrowing merely demonstrates the facts of contact and appropriation: it does not explain them. In part, the need to explain has fallen victim to the misleading connotations of the notion of influence. Once we recognize that the impulse to borrow from a foreign culture arises in the borrower, we perceive the necessity of determining what factors beyond mere availability induced the borrowing culture to do so. In part, Byzantium's ideology of continuity combined with historians' love of their subject to foster the assumption of Byzantine civilization's unchanging superiority over the contemporary West at all times and in all respects, with the further implication that medieval westerners shared that appreciation.³⁰ But the new Byzantinism has cancelled this approach, as eminent specialists have underscored that the seventh century's drastic upheavals produced a Byzantium which, however fascinating, cut a relatively impoverished and perhaps even backward character in the eighth century.³¹ This compels renewed efforts to explain why and how contemporary western societies were moved to borrow from Constantinople.

In the early Middle Ages, the inquiry can rarely proceed beyond factors of a rather general nature, but even these illuminate why borrowing occurred and clarify what Byzantium represented for the borrowing society. For example, Visigothic Spain's elite seems to have followed closely developments in the Byzantine capital and provinces. This explains that they knew and were able to appropriate significant elements of imperial ritual. But only a careful study of the conditions of Visigothic rulership and comparison with other innovations in the Spanish symbolism of power reveals that the struggle between ambitious kings and a powerful aristocracy coalesced with their shared admiration for Constantinopolitan culture to spur the court to borrow and adapt the Byzantine ceremonies marking the defeat of usurpers. The unique conditions of Visigothic society explain the power of one kind of Byzantine "influence" there.³²

A hundred years later and a little to the North, the volume of preserved source materials swells dramatically and it at last becomes possible to go beyond the general factors which fostered Byzantine "influence" and examine the details of this process. Yet even under these more favorable circumstances, the historian soon finds more questions than answers.

³⁰ E.g. *ibid.*, p. 35, where the eighth-century Byzantine court and its international prestige is compared to that of Versailles under Louis XIV.

³¹ Mango, "La culture grecque" (above, note 25), pp. 720-21; cf. Kazhdan and Cutler, "Continuity" (above, note 7), pp. 437 ff.

³² McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 315-23.

Western assimilation of the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus was a decisive step in medieval intellectual development. This Byzantine neoplatonist theologian's Latin after-life has been linked with the genesis of Gothic architecture and influenced thinkers as diverse as Abelard, Thomas Aquinas and Wyclif.³³ An extraordinarily favorable source situation allows scholars to map in some detail the earliest stage of Pseudo-Dionysius' entry into the mainstream of western thought. The favorable situation affords insight into the dynamics of early medieval cultural exchange.

In September 827, the Greek text of the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus arrived at the court of Charlemagne's son and successor, Louis the Pious, in the baggage of an embassy from Byzantium. The legation was headed by a high dignitary of the church of Constantinople and had been sent to Compiègne by Emperors Michael II and Theophilus in connection with a treaty between the two empires. The book, which scholars believe has survived to this day in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 437), may well have been calculated to win favor with Hilduin—one of Louis' chief advisers. Hilduin just happened to head the royal abbey of St. Denis (that is, Dionysius) in Paris and maintained against all opponents that his house's patron saint was none other than the Dionysius whom St. Paul converted in Athens, and the presumed author of the Areopagite corpus. Within weeks of the presentation, the Frankish emperor turned the book over to Hilduin, immediately triggering a series of miraculous healings at the Parisian abbey, which miracles, of course, demonstrated the identity of the two Dionysii.³⁴ As part of the campaign to glorify his abbey's patron saint, Hilduin sponsored the first—mediocre—Latin translation of the works. A few years later, the mysterious Irishman John Scot Eriugena, the greatest intellect of the Latin ninth century, would try to improve the translation and grapple with its content, launching the Areopagite's western diffusion.

Even this brief account illuminates the complexity of the historical processes by which Byzantium worked its way into the fabric of early medieval civilization. The concept of "influence" is sadly inadequate to explain the unique constellation of factors which converged to cause one of the most pregnant instances of cross-cultural transfer in the Middle Ages. What does the case of Pseudo-Dionysius tell us about these factors?

³³ Pseudo-Dionysius and Gothic architecture: O. von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of the Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (New York 1956), pp. 106–07; for a succinct systematic survey of the Areopagite's enduring impact in the West, see R. Roques et al., *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 3 (Paris 1954), 244–429, esp. 318–429; cf. the update in G. O'Daly, "Dionysius Areopagita," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 7 (Berlin 1981), 772–80, here 777–78.

³⁴ G. Théry, *Études dionysiennes* 1 (Paris 1932), pp. 1–100; R. Loenertz, "Le panégyrique de S. Denys l'Aréopagite par S. Michel le syncelle," *Analecta bollandiana* 68 (1950), 94–107 and "La légende parisienne de S. Denys l'Aréopagite. Sa genèse et son premier témoin," *ibid.*, 69 (1951), 217–37.

The first element is availability, no small consideration in a world of significant but limited cross-cultural contacts. In this case, someone in the Byzantine government actually took the initiative of making Pseudo-Dionysius available to a foreign elite, quite possibly in order to further precise diplomatic goals.³⁵ The ambassador was in any case one vector in this transfer; his intention had of course little to do with the distant results.

Another essential factor was the existence of someone on the receiving end who was interested in and capable of using Pseudo-Dionysius. Let us not forget that a century earlier, the pope himself seems to have sent another copy of Pseudo-Dionysius to Louis the Pious' grandfather: that copy vanished without a trace.³⁶ The powerful abbot of St. Denis was therefore a second indispensable vector in the process of the Byzantine thinker's entry into western theology.

Yet Hilduin's first use of the book had nothing to do with Pseudo-Dionysius' theology: he exploited it as a *relic*, whose presence at his abbey proved his point and cured the sick. It was only later, when the emperor urged him to compile a *devotional* work, that the abbot got around to dealing with the content. While Byzantium's place in the early medieval world may explain why an embassy came to Compiègne seeking to influence a Frankish ruler and therefore made the book available to Frankish society, it cannot explain what the book meant to Hilduin. For whatever Hilduin's attitudes toward Byzantine civilization may have been, they do not suffice to explain his energetic appropriation of the works of Pseudo-Dionysius. As his own testimony makes abundantly clear, the book from Byzantium was first and foremost a weapon in the struggle to enhance the prestige and power of his own house via an apostolic connection.³⁷ And of course, so far as Hilduin knew, there was nothing Byzantine about the Dionysian corpus itself, since the demonstration of its sixth-century origin lay more than a thousand years in the future.

Hilduin's promotion of Pseudo-Dionysius' writings also illustrates the present limits of our knowledge. For all that is known of this case, scholars are reduced to hypotheses when it comes to the crucial question of the linguistic intermediary. Who actually did the translating for Hilduin? The leading theory is that Hilduin used unknown Greeks.³⁸ But what Byzantines did Hilduin know? Aside from ambassadors, were any Greeks associated with the Carolingian elite? How many and where were they? And with whom were they associated? Or was most knowledge of Byzantium mediated not by the Byzantines themselves, but by northern

³⁵ On this point, *ibid.*, 232.

³⁶ Théry, *Études*, 1, pp. 1-3; cf. Sansterre, *Moines*, 1, pp. 182-83.

³⁷ Hilduin of St. Denis, *Epistolae variorum*, 20, c. 4, ed. E. Dümmler, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Epistolae* 5 (1899), 330. 3-11; cf. c. 8, 331. 10-14 etc.

³⁸ Théry, *Études*, 1, p. 134 and 142; cf. B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 2 (Stuttgart 1967), pp. 256 ff.

scholars like Eriugena, Sedulius Scotus, and Martin of Laon who struggled to acquire some elements of Greek with the miserable research instruments available to them?³⁹ Or by Italians like the remarkable Anastasius Bibliothecarius who, like some Franks, actually sailed to Byzantium? In other words, the analysis of the dynamics of Byzantine-Western cultural exchange in the early Middle Ages must begin to take into account the essential characteristic of early medieval society. In a world in which personal and family relations were everything, in which kings ruled peoples, not countries, personal—rather than institutional—networks stand a good chance of having channeled and conditioned the diffusion and appropriation of Byzantine civilization and it is to them that future research must turn.

The sampling of borrowings adduced at the outset indicated Byzantium's extensive role in the formation of early medieval civilization. But the study of this historical process must learn to differentiate the Byzantine contribution in time, space, social strata and content, to shun everywhere the misleading notion of influence and in some places the mirage of cross-cultural causality. It must explore the dynamics of this process and then identify the vectors of cross-cultural transfers. As ongoing research uncovers new instances of Byzantium's impact on the West—and vice versa—the very success of that inquiry urges the historian to begin to contemplate the how and why of that phenomenon. The historical understanding of both societies stands only to gain.

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³⁹ The best account of the resources of western would-be intermediaries is E. Jeauneau, "Jean Scot Érigène et le grec," *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi* 41 (1977–1978; printed 1979), 5–50.

The Mantle of Earth

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The purpose of this paper is to identify a theme which occurs with some frequency as a decoration on early Byzantine tapestry weaves from Egypt, but which has not hitherto been recognized in the literature on these textiles. This theme is nothing less than the portrayal of the terrestrial world, the representation of the entire earth and ocean together with their bounty. It is a subject which was displayed on Near Eastern textiles as early as the first century A.D. and which continued to be shown after the fall of Egypt to the Arabs in the seventh century. In many of the textiles, the weavers reduced the vastness of terrestrial creation to a design not more than a few inches across, compressing the fruitfulness of all nature to the confines of a motif which could be repeated several times on a hanging or a garment, like the reiteration of a charm.

In A.D. 39 Queen Kypros, the wife of Herodes Agrippa the King of Judaea, sent a textile to the Emperor Gaius, together with these lines by the poet Philip:

γαῖαν τὴν φερέκαρπον ὅσην ἔζωκε περίχθων
 ὥκεανὸς μεγάλῳ Καίσαρι πειθομένην
 καὶ γλαυκήν με θάλασσαν ἀπηκριβώσατο Κύπρος
 κερκίσιν ἴστοπόνοις πάντ' ἀπομαξαμένη.
 Καίσαρι δ' εὐξείνωι χάρις ἡλθομεν, ἦν γὰρ ἀνάσσης
 δῶρα φέρειν τὰ θεοῖς καὶ πρὸν ὄφειλόμενα.¹

This gift, "a perfect copy of the harvest-bearing earth, all that the land-encircling ocean girdles . . . and the grey sea too," must have rendered pictorially a common concept of Roman cosmography, the notion that the

¹ *Anthologia Palatina*, IX. 778; edition and translation by A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip* (Cambridge 1968), I, p. 300 and II, pp. 333 ff.

inhabited earth was surrounded, like an island, by a continuous sea.² The idea was expressed in Greek literature as early as Homer's description of the shield of Achilles,³ and was set out by Strabo in his *Geography* shortly before the weaving of the textile.⁴ Eventually it was taken over by Early Christian and early Byzantine writers, such as Eusebius and Cosmas Indicopleustes.⁵ The notion of the sea-encircled earth was also depicted in early Byzantine works of art, of which the most well-known is the mosaic in the north transept of the basilica of Dumetios in Nikopolis, which was laid in the second quarter of the sixth century (Fig. 1).⁶ Here a border depicting varied creatures and plants of the waters surrounds a square central panel portraying birds, trees, and flowers which signify the life of the earth; the mosaic is accompanied by the following inscription:

'Ωκεανὸν περίφαντον ἀπίριτον ἐνθα δέδορκας
γαῖαν μέσον ἔχοντα σοφοῖς ἵνδάλμασι τέχνης
πάντα πέριξ φορέουσαν δσα πνίει τε καὶ ἔρπει,
Δουμετίου κτέανον μεγαθύμου ἀρχιερῆος.⁷

While this inscription speaks of the "famous and boundless ocean containing in its midst the earth," it may be noted that the border surrounding the central panel of the mosaic contains fresh water life as well as sea creatures: in this ocean we find not only fish, octopuses and shellfish, but also lotus plants and ducks.⁸

The textile sent by Queen Kypros no longer survives; indeed, no textiles illustrating the earth and the ocean have come down to us from the time of the early Empire. There are, however, a number of textiles with this subject extant from the early Byzantine period; one of these textiles is well known, but the others are hitherto either unpublished or unidentified.

² See E. Kitzinger, "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics I. Mosaics at Nikopolis," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, VI (1951), 83–122, esp. 103.

³ *Iliad*, XVIII. 607.

⁴ *Geographica*, I. 1. 8.

⁵ Eusebius, *De laudibus Constantini*, 6. 6; Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia christiana*, 3. 25 and 4. 7.

⁶ Kitzinger, "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics"; *idem*, "Mosaic Pavements in the Greek East and the Question of a «Renaissance» under Justinian," *Actes du VI^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, II, 209–23, esp. 214 ff. (reprinted in *idem*, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West: Selected Studies*, ed. W. E. Kleinbauer [Bloomington 1976], pp. 49–63).

⁷ Kitzinger, "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics," 100.

⁸ The same phenomenon may be noted in other early Byzantine floor mosaics which depict the earth surrounded by the waters. See, for example, the cosmographic floor of the narthex of the Large Basilica at Heraklea Lynkestis, where the encircling border of aquatic motifs includes ducks, geese, swans and lotus plants: G. Cvetković-Tomašević, *Heraclea*, III, *Mosaic Pavement in the Narthex of the Large Basilica at Heraclea Lyncestis* (Bitola 1967); *idem*, "Mosaïques paléochrétiennes récemment découvertes à Héraclée Lynkestis," *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* (Paris 1975), II, pp. 385–99, figs. 183–92.

The known piece is a silk of the sixth or seventh century which was found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert at the Cathedral of Durham.⁹ Although the silk is in a fragmentary condition, its decoration can be reconstructed (Fig. 2). It was woven with repeated medallions, each enclosing the frontal figure of a woman shown half length, richly dressed with a heavily jeweled necklace or collar, and holding between her hands a scarf which makes a crescent shaped fold filled with fruits. This figure may be identified as a personification of Earth, by analogy with other works of art in which this personification is identified by an inscription. In the center of the sixth-century mosaic floor of the church of the Priest John at Khirbat al-Makhāyyat in Jordan, for example, there is a portrayal of a woman labelled as "TH"; she wears a richly adorned headdress and holds before her a crescent shaped fold of cloth brimming with fruits (Fig. 3).¹⁰ In the Byzantine silk, the personification of Earth rises from a series of parallel lines in the lower third of the roundel which represent water. In these waves six fish and four ducks can be seen swimming; they are arranged symmetrically on either side of the central axis of the medallion, either facing toward the personification or away from her. The circular frame of the medallion is filled with various fruits, such as grapes, figs, and pomegranates. The textile, then, was adorned with repeated portrayals of Earth with her fruits, rising up from the midst of the ocean with its creatures. As in the mosaic at Nikopolis, the ocean is here signified by ducks as well as fish.

In addition to the silk at Durham, there are other, previously unrecognized, textiles which portray Earth in the midst of Ocean. Of these, the most explicit with respect to iconography is a fragment from Egypt in the Field Museum of Chicago (Fig. 4).¹¹ In its present state it comprises a square ornament in wool tapestry weave on a plain linen ground. The ornamental panel measures about eleven inches in height and ten in width; not enough of the piece is preserved to show whether the ornament was repeated, or what the function of the original textile was. It is possible that the panel decorated a garment such as a tunic, but it could also have been part of a cover or hanging.

The decoration of the panel consists of two squares enclosing two circles. In the innermost circle there is the bust of a woman, portrayed frontally. She is richly dressed, with a crown, pendant earrings, a necklace or band around her neck, and a jeweled collar. Behind her head is a yellow halo. The outer circle, which surrounds this figure, is filled with water creatures and plants: fish, dolphins, ducks and lotus plants. The four

⁹ J. F. Flanagan, "The Figured Silks," in *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe (Oxford 1956), pp. 484–525, esp. pp. 505 ff., fig. 1.

¹⁰ S. J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The town of Nebo (Khirbet El-Mekhayyat)* (Jerusalem 1949), pp. 38–39, 49–55, fig. 4, pls. 8–13; M. Piccirillo, *I mosaici di Giordania dal I al VIII secolo D.C.* (Rome 1982), p. 17.

¹¹ Museum accession number 173888. The textile is unpublished.

spandrels between the outer circle and the inner square are filled by irregularly shaped motifs which can no longer be read. In the outer square there are stylized rinceaux of leaves.

There can be little doubt that the subject of this panel is the personification of Earth surrounded by the ocean. Her rich attire matches the portrayal of Ḥātīt on the Durham silk (Fig. 2). The surrounding border of sea creatures corresponds to the border of the Nikopolis mosaic, with its fish, ducks and lotus plants (Fig. 1).

Another textile depicting a personification of Earth surrounded by sea creatures is preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 5).¹² The composition, in wool tapestry weave on linen, is circular; in a central medallion it displays the frontal bust of a woman wearing earrings and holding before her a scarf filled with fruits. This central motif is enclosed by a larger circle containing four stylized plants growing from vases. The whole is framed by an outer circle which creates a border filled with fish. In their forms the four plants are similar to those depicted in the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem; they may suggest a late seventh or early eighth-century date for this piece.¹³

To the panels in Chicago and Boston we can add a third Egyptian textile portraying Earth arising out of the ocean, which is now preserved at the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig. 6).¹⁴ In this case we can see that the motif was repeated several times on the same piece of cloth. The textile, which is about ten inches square, comprises a square ornament (*segmentum*) which is framed on two sides by an L-shaped strip (*gammadiion*), both being in tapestry weave in wool and linen. The motif in the central square is the bust of a woman who is richly dressed in a jeweled crown, pendant earrings, and a jeweled necklace or collar around her neck. Her head is framed by a large yellow halo, and the whole figure is set against a dark blue background. The bust is supported below by a pair of ducks with red and white bodies and green necks. The birds face each other in symmetrical poses, with their heads turning away over their backs.

The same motif, of the richly dressed female bust supported on a pair of ducks, is repeated on a smaller scale five times in the *gammadiion*. The woman may be identified as Earth on account of her rich costume, and because she rises above a pair of symmetrically confronted ducks, like the personification of Ḥātīt on the silk at Durham (Fig. 2). As in the silk, the birds in the Cleveland textile serve as signs of the waters that surround the earth.

¹² Museum accession number 07.266. The textile is unpublished; entire dimensions are seven by seven inches.

¹³ Compare, especially, the plants illustrated in plates 13–22 of K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (2nd ed., Oxford 1969), I, 1.

¹⁴ Museum accession number 73.21; "The Year in Review for 1973," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 61 (1974), 78, no. 166.

The manner in which the *gammadion* frames the *segmentum* on the Cleveland textile makes it possible that this fragment came from a piece of clothing, such as the lower border of a tunic.¹⁵ The adoption of Earth as a motif for the decoration of clothing would echo a common comparison found in both classical and Early Christian writers: either the earth itself was viewed as a cloak, on account of its shape, or it was seen to be "clothed" with the mantle of its vegetation. Strabo, for example, compared the inhabited world to the form of a *chlamys*, since he believed that its upper or northern portions were more contracted, whereas its southern regions were more spread out.¹⁶ Eusebius wrote of the Creator who "clothes the previously shapeless eternity with beautiful colors and fresh flowers."¹⁷ Basil the Great described the earth at the Creation "moved to produce fruits, as if she had cast away from her some somber garment of mourning, to put on another more brilliant [robe], adorned with the ornaments which are proper to her, and presenting the countless species of her plants."¹⁸ The textile in Cleveland, therefore, could be seen as the realization of a metaphor.

In each of the textiles discussed above, the personification of earth was accompanied by creatures signifying the waters or the sea. On the textiles that will now be examined, however, Earth appeared on her own. We may take as our first example another piece from the collection in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, on which Earth appears as a nimbed bust in a medallion, holding a very stylized scarf filled with fruits (Fig. 7; compare Fig. 5). The medallion containing the bust is enclosed in a narrow strip of tapestry weave decorated with heart-shaped plants, the forms of which suggest a date after the Islamic conquest.¹⁹

A fifth Egyptian textile which probably depicts a personification of Earth is found in the collection of the Louvre (Fig. 8).²⁰ It is a rectangle in tapestry weave, measuring about ten by nine inches, and displaying at its

¹⁵ Compare, for example, a completely preserved tunic such as number 71.48 in the Textile Museum of Washington, D.C.; J. Trilling, *The Roman Heritage, Textiles from Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean 300 to 600 A.D.* (*The Textile Museum Journal*, 21 [Washington, D.C. 1982]), 92, no. 103).

¹⁶ *Geographica*, II. 5. 6.

¹⁷ ὁ δ' αὐτὸς χρώμασιν ὡραίους καὶ νεαροῖς ἄνθεσι τὸν πρὸς ἀσχημάτιστον ἀμφιεννὺς αἰῶνα, *De laudibus Constantini*, 6. 6.

¹⁸ πρὸς καρπογονίαν συγκινούμενην, ὥσπερ τινὰ σκυθρωπὴν καὶ πενθήρη ἀπορίψασαν περιβολὴν, μεταμφιεννυμένην τὴν φαιδροτέραν καὶ τοῖς οικείοις κόσμοις ἀγαλλομένην, καὶ τὰ μυρία γένη τῶν φυομένων προβάλλουσαν. *Hexæmeron*, 5. 2.

¹⁹ Museum Accession Number 01.5896. The textile is unpublished. The woman's halo is flanked by two letters: "C," or perhaps a Coptic gamma, on the left and "E" on the right. It is possible that the inscription was originally intended to read "ΓΗ." The dimensions of this piece are four and a quarter by eleven inches.

²⁰ Inventory number X4736; P. du Bourguet, *Catalogue des étoffes coptes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1964), I, p. 197, no. E31.

center the frontal bust of a woman wearing a jeweled diadem, earrings, and collar. She is enclosed by a circle strewn with flower buds. The circle is in turn inscribed within a square, leaving four spandrels between the circle and the square which are filled by green birds. In the frame around the square there are eight medallions containing either birds or flowers; the medallions alternate with eight boys who hold out birds or vases of fruit as offerings. The theme of a richly dressed Earth receiving offerings can be paralleled on floor mosaics such as the floor of the church of the Priest John at Khirbat al-Makhāyyat, where boys with extended arms offer baskets filled with fruits to the central bust of Ḥātī (Fig. 3).²¹

Finally, I would like to adduce five other textiles from Egypt, each of which depicts the bust of a richly bejeweled woman who may have been intended to personify Earth, but who could also have been given other identifications. The first example, also from the Louvre collection, is a panel of tapestry weave in wool and linen measuring around fourteen and a half by eleven and a half inches, the design of which is related to the textile just described.²² It shows in the center the frontal bust of a woman wearing a jeweled diadem, necklace, earrings and collar. She is inscribed in a circle containing flower buds, which is contained by a square. In each of the four spandrels there is a blue peacock, while the outer frame contains a series of sixteen medallions enclosing stylized flowers or birds. The similarity of the central figure to the personifications on the previously discussed textiles in Durham, Chicago, Cleveland and Paris (Figs. 2, 4, 6 and 8) suggests that this also may be a representation of Earth. It can be noted, in addition, that the peacock was considered by Early Christian writers one of the most beautiful adornments of terrestrial creation,²³ and as such would be a fitting sign of the Earth costumed in her finery. However, in the absence of any offerers of fruit and game, or of any motifs indicating the surrounding sea, the identification of the subject cannot be as certain as in the case of the preceding examples.

The same observation may be made of two other panels of wool and linen tapestry weave in the Louvre, each of which also shows the frontal bust of a richly costumed female in a surround containing birds and plants. In these two panels, which are closely related to each other, the woman

²¹ See also the boys offering produce to the personification of Ḥātī depicted in the floor mosaic of the church of St. George at Khirbat al-Makhāyyat; Saller and Bagatti, *Town of Nebo*, pp. 67–74, fig. 8, pls. 22–28. A related tapestry is no. 42.438.4 in the Brooklyn Museum on which the bust of a woman wearing earrings and a jeweled collar or necklace, but no diadem, receives offerings in the form of vases or birds; D. Thompson, *Coptic Textiles in the Brooklyn Museum* (New York 1971), p. 72, no. 31.

²² Inventory number X4665; du Bourguet, *Catalogue des étoffes coptes*, p. 197, no. E30.

²³ See, for example, Gregory of Nazianzus, *Homilia XXVIII*, 24; George of Pisidia, *Hexaēmeron*, 1245–1292 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* XCII, cols. 1529–1532). For the association of the peacock with Juno and with empresses, see J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London 1972), pp. 251 ff.

wears a diadem in her hair, earrings, a jeweled necklace and a jeweled collar.²⁴ Her bust is enclosed by a circle strewn with green leaves which is set in a square; here, too, each of the four spandrels contains a blue peacock. The whole composition is surrounded by a squared frame containing schematic petals.

A fourth panel from the Louvre also displays the frontal bust of a woman wearing long pendant earrings, a pearly necklace, and a jeweled collar.²⁵ Her head is surrounded by a nimbus and her portrait is framed by a squared border containing a series of medallions enclosing stylized plants. A similar panel of tapestry weave is preserved in the Textile Museum of Washington, D.C. (Fig. 9).²⁶ It is about twelve and a half inches in height and ten inches wide, and it shows in the center a circle containing the bust of a woman wearing a jeweled diadem in her hair, long pendant earrings, and a jeweled collar. Behind her head there is a yellow nimbus. The circle containing the bust is enclosed in a rectangular frame filled along its sides with stylized rinceaux and at its four corners with schematized flowers.

Each of these last five examples may well represent the personification of Earth surrounded by her plants and creatures. However, as so often happens in Egyptian textiles, the iconography has become simplified to the point that a specific identification of the subject is no longer possible; indeed, the images are ambiguous. Besides Earth, the woman in this last group of textiles could also have represented other personifications who were commonly shown during Late Antiquity as frontal figures in rich attire. Such personifications would include Ἐστία πολύολβος ("the Hearth, rich in blessings"), as seen on the famous tapestry in Dumbarton Oaks,²⁷ and Τύχη καλή ("Good Fortune"), as seen on certain clay lamps from Egypt (Fig. 10). In each of these cases, of course, the meanings overlap with the concept of the fruitful Earth, beautiful and rich in her blessings. The lack of specificity of the iconography on the textiles could have had multiple causes. On the one hand, the abstraction of the motif can be attributed to the repeated copying of a more detailed model by weavers who no longer understood its original context. But, on the other hand, the generalization of the image of the richly dressed woman can also be seen as an intensification of its significance, for the beneficent associations of *all* the wealth-bringing female personifications it resembled could now be read into it.

In conclusion, a few observations can be made concerning the relevance of these domestic textiles to the wider study of early Byzantine art. We have seen how floor mosaics can help us to interpret the subjects on weavings.

²⁴ Inventory numbers X4156 and X4157; *L'Art Copte*, exhibition catalogue, Petit Palais (Paris 1964), p. 211, no. 252; du Bourguet, *Catalogue des étoffes*, p. 332, nos. F228 and F229. The dimensions are ten and a half by nine inches and ten and a quarter by ten and a half inches.

²⁵ Inventory number X4727; *L'Art Copte*, p. 209, no. 251; du Bourguet, p. 331, no. F227. The dimensions are ten and a half by eleven and a half inches.

²⁶ Museum accession number 72.121. Trilling, *The Roman Heritage*, p. 33, no. 7, plate 4.

²⁷ P. Friedländer, *Documents of Dying Paganism* (Berkeley 1945), pp. 1-26.

But just as ecclesiastical mosaics can throw light upon the meanings of motifs on household cloths, so also the textiles can help us to understand how contemporary viewers may have reacted to the decorations of churches. Many of the floor mosaics which portrayed the earth together with her creatures and products were capable of several levels of interpretation. From the perspective of the clergy, who were often the patrons and who may sometimes have participated in the designing of the floors, the mosaics conveyed ideas about the nature of God's terrestrial creation and about the place of humanity within it, ideas which were expressed also in Early Christian sermons and commentaries on the 'Εξαήμερον.²⁸ But from the perspective of the lay churchgoers the mosaics may have contained a simpler message; they gave the promise of fruitfulness in dry climates, as did the textiles people used in their houses. Whether she was repeated as a charm on a garment or laid out on the floor of a sacred building, the personification of Earth, richly adorned and framed by water, held out the hope of plenty in arid lands.

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²⁸ Henry Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: the Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art*, Monographs on the Fine Arts sponsored by the College Art Association of America 43 (University Park 1987), pp. 69–72.

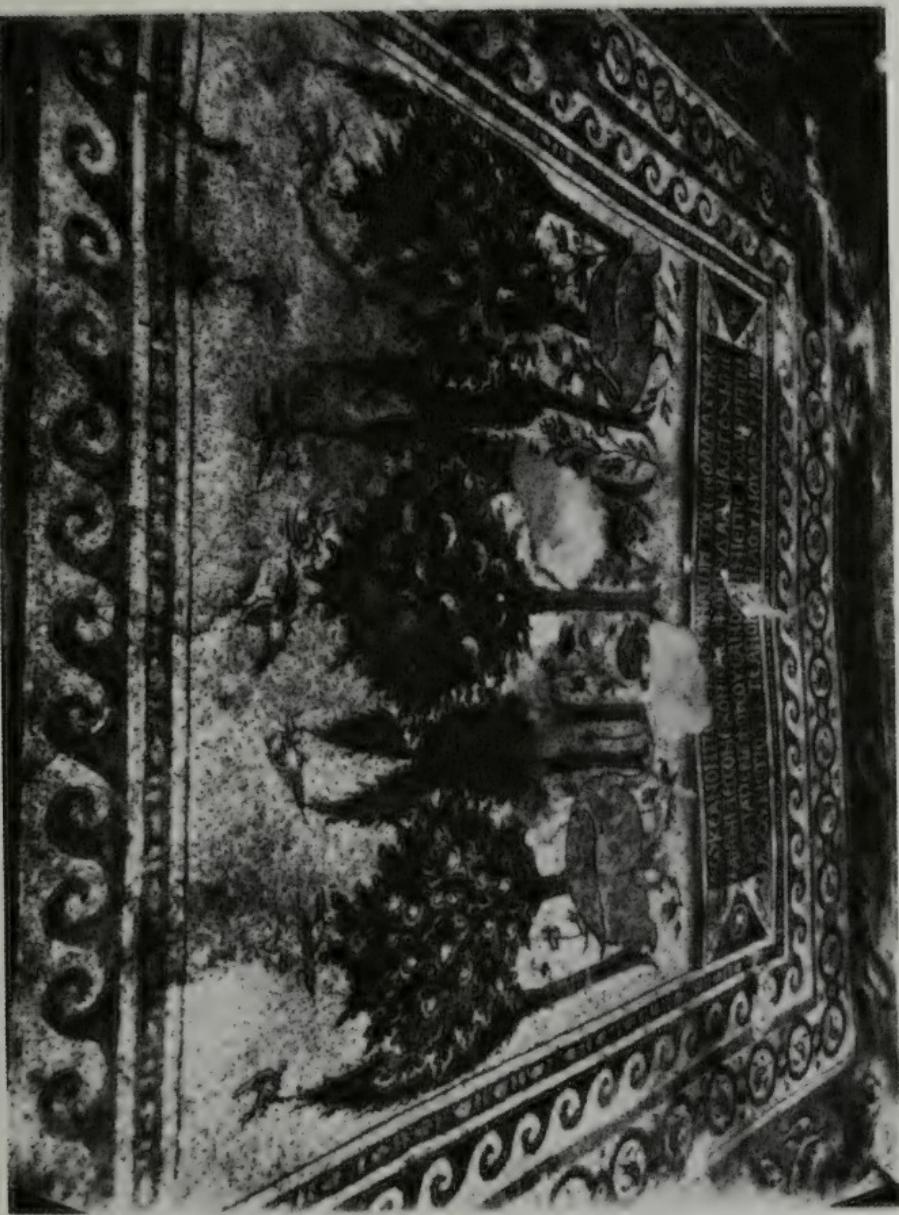


Figure 1. Floor Mosaic, Basilica of Dumetos, Nikopolis, north transept. Earth and Ocean.
(Photo: Archaeological Society, Athens)

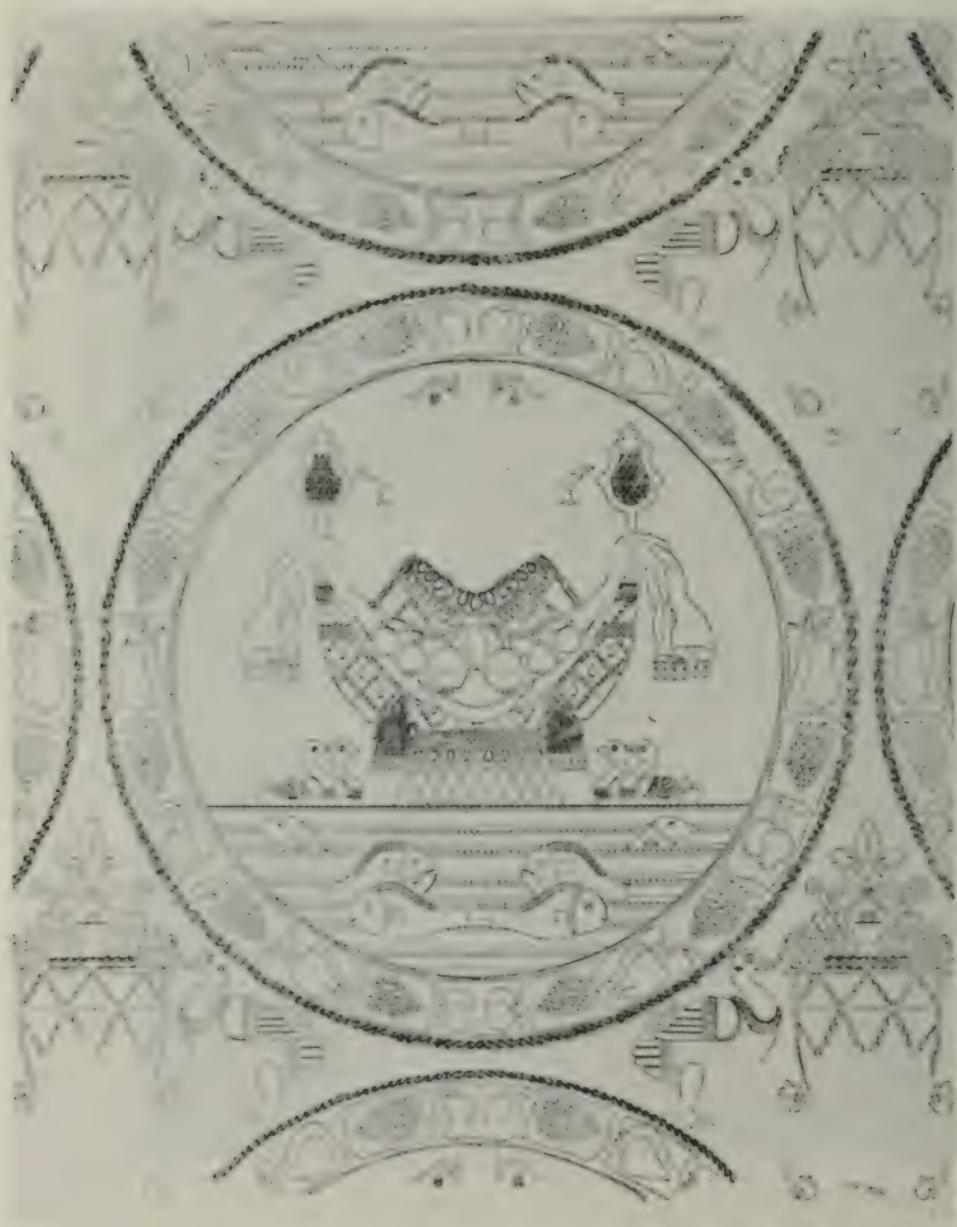


Figure 2. Silk from St. Cuthbert's coffin, Durham Cathedral, reconstructed detail. Earth and Ocean. (Photo from J. F. Flanagan, "The figured Silks," in *The Relics of St. Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe [Oxford 1956], fig. 1)



Figure 3. Floor Mosaic, Church of the Priest John, Khirbat al-Makhdum, nave, detail. Earth and offerings.
(Photo: Terrasanta)



Figure 4. Tapestry weave, Field Museum, Chicago. Earth and Ocean.
(Photo: Courtesy, Field Museum of Natural History)



Figure 5. Tapestry weave, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Earth and Ocean.
(Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Figure 6. Tapestry weave, Cleveland Museum of Art. Earth and Ocean. (Photo: Cleveland Museum of Art; purchase A. W. Ellenburger Sr. Endowment Fund)



Figure 7. Tapestry weave, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Earth. (Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Figure 8. Tapestry weave, Louvre, Paris. Earth and offerings.
(Photo: Musées Nationaux, Paris)



Figure 9. Tapestry weave, Textile Museum, Washington, D. C. Earth?
(Photo: The Textile Museum)



Figure 10. Clay Lamp from Egypt, Bode Museum, Berlin, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung. Τύχη καλή. (Photo: author)

3

An Introduction to Byzantine Monasticism*

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The institution of monasticism was one of the most important characteristics of Byzantine society, and touched the life of virtually every imperial subject in many ways. First of all, a substantial number of Byzantine men and women took monastic vows: some in their youth, who pledged themselves to a lifetime of dedication to Christ; some in middle age, when their children were grown; many more at the end of their lives. Countless Byzantines, when they realized they were on their deathbed, took the monastic habit for their final hours or days, in the belief that, by dying in the holier monastic state, they were more likely to achieve salvation in the world to come.

* There is as yet no definitive work on Byzantine monasticism. The following are recommended as an introduction; they will guide the interested reader to further bibliography. C. Mango, *Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome* (New York 1980), ch. 5 on Monasticism; R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen âge. Commende et typica (X^e–XIV^e siècle)," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 22 (1964), 15–44; P. Charanis, "The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971), 61–84; N. M. Vaporis, ed., *Byzantine Saints and Monasteries* (Brookline, Mass. 1985), a series of articles reprinted from *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985); a group of essays on female monasticism in *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985).

Among the most important primary sources for monasticism are the documents preserved in the archives of Mt. Athos (currently being published in the series, *Archives de l'Athos*, ed., P. Lemerle), and the *typika* or foundation charters of monasteries. New critical editions of five eleventh and twelfth-century *typika* were recently published with French translation by the late Paul Gautier in *Revue des Études Byzantines* 32 (1974), 39 (1981), 40 (1982), 42 (1984) and 43 (1985). A project currently in progress, the Dumbarton Oaks/N.E.H. Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents Project, is preparing annotated translations of all 52 surviving Byzantine monastic *typika*. Lives of Byzantine saints, who were usually monks or nuns, also throw much light on Byzantine monasticism; available in English are Helen Waddell, *The Desert Fathers* (Ann Arbor, Mich. 1957) and Elizabeth Dawes and Norman Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford 1948).

The monastery was often the spiritual center of a rural village or urban quarter; local inhabitants might attend services at the monastic church, seek out monks for spiritual advice, or ask for help in time of need. If a Byzantine fell ill, he or she might find medical care in a hospital attached to the monastic complex, or alternatively seek healing at the tomb of a saint whose relics were preserved in the church. A traveler who hesitated to stop for the night at an inn (which was usually a euphemism for a brothel) might find accommodation at a hostel run by monks. An elderly widow without children to look after her could find spiritual companionship and nursing care in a convent; the nuns would also see to her proper burial and arrange commemorative services after her death, all in exchange for a handsome donation to the nunnery. The poor could come to the monastery gate and receive loaves of bread, wine, and the leftovers from the refectory. A wealthy noble, who wanted to present a deluxe illuminated Gospelbook to a church, could commission the copying and illustration of such a manuscript in a monastic scriptorium, or workshop for the production of manuscripts. A peasant who owned a small plot of land might be pressured into selling his vineyard or olive grove to the local monastery, which wished to increase its holdings; he might on the other hand give the land to the monastery as a pious act, in exchange for commemorative requiem masses in perpetuity. Emperors as well as peasants took personal interest in monasteries; they might found new ones, or present existing ones with landed estates, or declare their immunity from taxation. Emperors sought out monks as advisers on matters of state as well as religious policy. And not a few Byzantine emperors ended their lives in monasteries, either unwillingly when they were deposed from the throne by a usurper and forced into the tonsure, or of their own accord as an act of personal faith when their end drew near. Finally, monasteries served as the bulwark of Byzantine Orthodox Christianity: in the eighth and ninth centuries monks were among the most ardent supporters of image veneration and adversaries of iconoclasm: in the thirteenth century monks were persecuted for opposing Michael VIII's policy of Union with the Roman Church at the Council of Lyons (1274). In the following century the monasteries and hermitages of Mt. Athos nurtured the burgeoning mystical movement called hesychasm, which was to give new vitality to the Orthodox religious tradition.

I. The Origins of Monasticism

Let us turn to the early centuries of the empire to seek out the origins of this institution which affected every level of Byzantine society throughout its long history. The beginnings of monasticism are closely connected with the spread of Christianity in the Roman Empire; the first monks appeared during the final period of persecution of Christians in the late third century, just before the conversion of the emperor Constantine in the following century.

The word "monasticism" is derived from the Greek verb μονάζω ("to live alone"), and indeed the first monks were hermits. In order to escape persecution pious Christians would retire into the desert, alone, where they could lead lives of asceticism and prayer without harassment. Tradition holds that a certain Paul (called the "First Hermit," to distinguish him from the apostle) was the first Christian to adopt this rigorous life style. Fleeing persecution, perhaps that of the Emperor Decius (249–51), he withdrew to some mountains in the Egyptian desert to live in a cave. Nearby grew a palm tree, and a stream of water flowed by. He wove himself a garment of palm leaves, and every day a crow brought him half a loaf of bread. Thus he had all the necessities of life, and lived there peacefully for 60 years until his death.

His younger contemporary, St. Antony, is much better known, primarily because of the vivid Life which the Church Father Athanasius of Alexandria wrote about him in the fourth century. This became the pattern for all future biographies of saints, and was widely read in the medieval world, both east and west. Paul had lived completely alone, but disciples flocked to St. Antony, and so communities of monks developed. The monks remained in their separate cells during the week, praying and weaving rush mats, but met on weekends for church services. This kind of monastic community was called a *lavra*. St. Antony is significant in that he demonstrated a new way of achieving sanctity, without martyrdom, but through extreme mortification of the body.

He kept vigil to such an extent that he often continued the whole night without sleep, and this not once but often, to the marvel of others. He ate once a day, after sunset; sometimes once in two days, and often even in four. His food was bread and salt; his drink, water only; of flesh and wine it is superfluous even to speak, since no such thing was found with the other earnest men. A rush mat served him to sleep upon, but for the most part he lay upon the bare ground.¹

In the early fourth century people flocked to the desert to follow Antony's example. One might think that the establishment of Christianity would have contributed to the decline of monasticism, since in the beginning so many monks had fled to the desert to avoid persecution. But curiously enough, once Christianity was tolerated, the number of monks increased even more. Many Christians felt that now their faith was not being sufficiently tested, so they retired to the desert to create their own rigorous discipline. And not just men, but women, too, became hermits; a number of these hermitesses, however, disguised themselves as men, to

¹ Athanasius, *Life of Antony*, tr. H. Ellershaw and A. Robertson, in *St. Athanasius: Select Works and Letters [= A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 4]* (New York 1892), pp. 197–98.

protect themselves against rape, or as a denial of their own sexuality.² In the biography of St. Antony, Satan is heard to complain: "I am become weak. . . . I no longer have a place, a weapon, a city. The Christians are spread everywhere, and at length even the desert is filled with monks."³

Problems began to arise, however, when Christians became monks for non-spiritual reasons, for example to escape taxes and military service. And I quote again from the Life of St. Antony:

So their cells were in the mountains like tabernacles, filled with holy bands of men who sang psalms, loved reading, fasted, prayed, rejoiced in the hope of things to come. . . . And truly it was possible, as it were, to behold a land set by itself, filled with piety and justice. For then there was neither the evil-doer nor the injured, nor *the reproaches of the tax-gatherer*: but instead a multitude of ascetics, and the one purpose of them all was to aim at virtue . . . many soldiers and men who had great possessions laid aside the burdens of life, and became monks for the rest of their days.⁴

In fact so many young men retired to the desert that later in the fourth century an emperor ordered the removal of those monks who fled to monasteries in order to evade public duties.

In addition to the hermits and monks who lived in *lavras*, another form of monasticism developed in Egypt around 300. This was the cenobitic monastery, derived from the Greek words κοντὸς βίος, or "common life." Pachomius was the founder of this highly organized form of monasticism in Upper Egypt, just north of Thebes and Luxor. In cenobitic monasteries, a third virtue, that of obedience, was added to the virtues of poverty and chastity practised by hermits. For the monastery was headed by an abbot to whom the monks owed obedience. Hermit monks decided on their own life style, and, as it were, their personal spiritual program for attaining salvation. At cenobitic monasteries regular religious services were held, and all monks were required to attend. Each monk was also expected to perform some manual labor, working in the fields or weaving, for example. The Pachomian monasteries were enormous, often numbering hundreds of monks or even thousands.

If one reads stories of these early "desert fathers," certain themes keep cropping up in one edifying tale after another. One is the monks' abhorrence of the female sex; they went to great lengths to avoid any contact with women. One monk, for example, found himself in a situation where he was forced to carry his mother across a river. He covered his hands with his garment when carrying her, so as not to touch her. When his mother asked him why he covered his hands, he replied: "Because the body of a

² E. Patlagean, "L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance," *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 17 (1976), 597–623.

³ *Life of Antony*, p. 207.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 219.

woman is fire. And even from my touching thee came the memory of other women into my soul."⁵

Connected with this sexual obsession was abhorrence of one's own body. The Egyptian monks never washed or changed their clothes; the Pachomian rule provided for a bath only if a monk was sick. We read of St. Antony that

he had a garment of hair on the inside, while the outside was skin, which he kept until his end. And he never bathed his body with water to free himself from filth, nor did he ever wash his feet, nor even endure so much as to put them into water, unless compelled by necessity. Nor did anyone ever see him unclothed, nor his body naked at all, except after his death, when he was buried.⁶

The monks' obsession with abstinence from sex was almost equalled by their obsessive abstinence from food; the monks competed with each other to see who could eat the least. Makarios the Great, for example, once observed the Lenten fast by eating only once a week, a few cabbage leaves on Sunday!

II. St. Basil of Caesarea

The Pachomian type of monastery was the basis of all later monasteries that evolved in both the western and eastern Mediterranean; specifically it gave rise to the Basilian monastery of eastern orthodoxy, and to the Benedictine monastery in the west. "Basilian" monasticism takes its name from one of the Fathers of the Eastern Church, St. Basil of Caesarea, who played an important role in synthesizing the classical tradition with Christian faith. This fusion was the basis of most later Byzantine theology.

In the mid-fourth century Basil set out to formulate a rule for his monastery in Cappadocia (in central Anatolia). He was dissatisfied with the forms of monasticism that had developed in Egypt, Syria and Palestine, and sought to introduce a modified form of Pachomian monasticism into Asia Minor. He strongly endorsed the cenobitic monastery, and did not approve at all of the solitary life. He thought it was difficult and even dangerous for a monk to live alone, unless he had tremendous self-control. Also it was hard for a hermit to be self-sufficient; he had to depend on the charity of visitors for his daily needs. Basil argued that the majority of monks cannot muster sufficient discipline to become hermits, and need a communal form of monasticism. Each member of the community would be expected to contribute to providing for the physical necessities of the monastery, and the monks would encourage and criticize each other in their spiritual development.

⁵ Waddell, *Desert Fathers*, p. 74.

⁶ *Life of Antony*, p. 209.

Basil's system was based on the Pachomian rule, but differed from it in several ways.

1. He reduced the size of monasteries, since he felt the huge aggregates of monks in Egypt were too large.
2. Obedience to the abbot was considered the primary virtue.
3. He forbade extraordinary feats of asceticism and mortification; if a monk wanted to make a special fast, he had to ask the abbot's permission.
4. Another important difference from the rule of Pachomius was that Basil established monasteries in towns instead of in deserts, so that monks would not be isolated from their fellow men, but could practise charity towards them. Also by their conduct, monks were to provide their secular brethren with a model of the true Christian life.⁷

Here we see the beginnings of a characteristic of medieval monasteries, which provided service to the lay community, as well as supporting the monk's individual search for personal salvation. What impresses one most, however, in reading the *Long Rules* of Basil is the tone of moderation and practicality, compared with the fanaticism of the monks of Egypt, or the stylite saints of Syria who lived on top of columns. One can clearly detect here the influence of Greek rationalism, and the ancient Greek adage, "nothing in excess."

III. Byzantine Monasticism in its Fully Developed Form

One of the most important differences that emerged between eastern and western monasticism in the Middle Ages was that Byzantine monks were not organized into separate orders like their Benedictine, Franciscan or Dominican counterparts in the west. In a sense all Byzantine monasteries belonged to one order, and followed the Rule of St. Basil; at the same time each monastery was organized on an individual basis, and provided with rules by its founder. About fifty of these foundation documents, called *typika*, survive, an invaluable source of information about ideals of monasticism and the realities of daily life in Byzantine monasteries from the ninth to the fifteenth century.

Normally these documents include a preamble which explains the founder's motivation for establishing a new monastery, followed by detailed guidelines for the monks or nuns. Topics covered include the election of the superior, the length of the novitiate, rules of enclosure, behavior in the refectory, dietary rules for feastdays and fastdays, the monastic habit, and discipline of disobedient monks or nuns. All the *typika* place strong

⁷ An English translation of the *Long Rules* can be found in *Saint Basil. Ascetical Works*, tr. by Monica Wagner (New York 1950), pp. 223-337.

emphasis on strict adherence to the cenobitic form of monasticism, especially with regard to eating. Monks and nuns were to take their meals together in the refectory, eat the same food, and not keep snacks in their cells. The *typika* follow the basic precepts of Basil, particularly with respect to the spirit of moderation, but there are countless variations between monasteries as far as specific rules are concerned.

Still I shall hazard a description of a fairly typical Byzantine monastery.⁸ It was founded in Constantinople in the fourteenth century by an aristocratic lady, and provided a home for several members of her family, including a daughter. Fifty nuns lived at the monastery, thirty of them choir sisters, responsible for singing the daily offices: twenty of the nuns performed basic housekeeping duties. Each nun had her own cell, but ate in common with her sisters in the refectory. The diet included bread, vegetables, fruit, fish, eggs and cheese, but never meat. Wine was considered a staple, and was served in generous portions; in cold weather a hot drink of cumin-flavored water was also available. Each nun had specific duties, whether singing in the choir, working in the kitchen, overseeing the refectory, serving as infirmarian or gatekeeper. The nuns also did handwork such as spinning and weaving, reciting psalms as they worked; if literate, they would devote many hours to study of the Scriptures or saints' lives. They received a new habit once a year, and a monthly supply of soap, and oil for their lamps. The nuns were expected to remain within the convent, except on special occasions, such as a visit to a sick relative. When a nun did go outside the convent, she was always to be accompanied by two elderly nuns. Nuns might also leave the cloister to visit a local shrine, to attend a funeral of a relative, or on convent business, such as to give testimony in a lawsuit involving monastic property.

The convent was headed by a superior, elected by members of the monastic community. She had responsibility for the spiritual and material well-being of the nuns in her charge, and had to combine the talents of businesswoman, psychologist and spiritual leader. The abbess held this position for life, and could be deposed only for grave cause.

Why did Byzantine men and women enter monasteries?⁹ For many it was a true vocation; from childhood some Byzantine boys and girls dreamed of renouncing the world, and dedicating themselves to Christ. Usually this decision met with parental approval, since the monastic vocation was so common and so admired in the Byzantine world. Some parents in fact dedicated their children to God at infancy, often in thanksgiving at the birth of a child after a long period of infertility. Sometimes whole families took

⁸ The following paragraph is a summary of the *typikon* of the nunnery of the Virgin of Sure Hope (Θεοτόκος τῆς Βεβαίας Ἐλπίδος), published by H. Delehaye in *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels 1921), pp. 18–105.

⁹ On this topic, see A. M. Talbot, "Late Byzantine Nuns: By Choice or Necessity?" *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985), 103–17.

the monastic habit together, especially at a time of crisis, such as the death of one of the parents. The mother of Gregory Palamas, one of the most famous of Orthodox theologians, wanted to enter a convent right after her husband died, even though it would have meant abandoning her five children, who ranged in age from a few months to seven years. It was only with difficulty that she was persuaded to remain at home until her children were grown; when they were teenagers, they all ended up taking monastic vows.

Even if they did not take the habit themselves, many Byzantines became benefactors of monasteries, making donations of cash, sacred vessels or liturgical books for the church, land or income-producing properties such as a factory or mill. The reward for such donations was commemoration after one's death; the perusal of *typika* makes it clear that prayers for one's salvation in perpetuity were of immense importance to the pious Byzantine. Notices in the *typika* might read as follows:

Since the bishop of Ephesus . . . gave our convent 400 gold pieces a requiem should be celebrated for him . . . and also celebrate the requiem of the bishop of Mytilene on the anniversary of his death, as best you can. For he donated to the convent a solid gold icon of the Mother of God, decorated with precious stones and pearls, and stoles and armlets, also with pearls.¹⁰

IV. Cultural Activities

My description of a typical nunnery deliberately omitted any mention of intellectual or artistic activities, because nuns rarely engaged in the copying or illumination of manuscripts, or the composition of hymns, saints' lives, theological treatises or historical chronicles.¹¹ In a number of male monasteries, however, there were scriptoria for the production of manuscripts, and many of the most important literary figures of Byzantium were monks who worked in the confines of a cloister. Monastic libraries were usually limited to the basic liturgical books, with perhaps a few volumes of patristic commentaries or saints' lives; they almost never contained works of ancient Greek authors. A few libraries, however, benefited from the personal collection of their founders, and held a wider range of books. Such was the library of Chora in fourteenth-century Constantinople, the best library in the capital, where a number of the leading classical philologists of the day prepared editions and commentaries on classical authors. Monasteries tended to specialize in certain areas. One might have a scriptorium that produced only liturgical manuscripts in a

¹⁰ Typikon of Convent of Sure Hope, ed. Delehaye, *Deux typica*, p. 102.

¹¹ On the limited cultural activities of Byzantine convents, see A. M. Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983), 604-18.

distinctive script; another monastery might be an important center for the composition of hymns and religious poetry.

Formal schooling was not a function of Byzantine monasteries; in fact, a number of *typika* specifically forbade the admission of children for educational purposes, but monasteries played a significant role in maintaining the culture of Byzantium. Literate nuns were encouraged to teach their illiterate sisters their letters, since a certain degree of literacy was required in order to chant the office, maintain the monastery accounts or serve as librarian or archivist. A high percentage of Byzantine manuscripts were produced in monastic scriptoria, and the monastic environment provided the tranquillity and spiritual stimulation necessary for the composition of religious poetry or a theological tract.

V. Charitable Functions

Monks and nuns provided a variety of community services.¹² I have already mentioned that free food was generally made available for the poor; distributions were made at the monastery gate on a regular schedule. On special feastdays, there might even be distributions of small coins.

Several monasteries had hospitals attached, where the best medical care available was provided. The *typikon* for a twelfth-century monastery in Constantinople, the Pantokrator, supplies a detailed description of the organization and management of such a hospital.¹³ It had five wards, with 61 beds in all. One ward was for patients with wounds and injuries, another for patients with diseases of the eyes or internal organs; there was also a 12-bed ward for women. The patients wore special hospital gowns; their own clothes were washed and made ready for them to wear when cured!

Hospital personnel were numerous: about one staff member per patient. The female ward was served by a woman doctor, whose salary was half that of her male colleagues. The staff also included pharmacists to prepare herbal medicines, laundresses, cooks, and four gravediggers (which seems a rather high figure for a 61-bed hospital!). The patients were limited to a strictly vegetarian diet, consisting mostly of bread and vegetables. There was a large bathroom, where the patients were entitled to two baths a week. This hospital was reserved for the use of laymen; the monks had their own six-bed infirmary.

The monastic complex of the Pantokrator also included a hospice or old people's home, designated for the care of 24 men who were crippled or

¹² Much material on monastic philanthropy is found in two books by Demetrios Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, New Jersey 1968), and *Poverty, Society and Philanthropy in the Late Medieval Greek World* (forthcoming).

¹³ P. Gautier, ed., "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 32 (1974), 82–113; T. S. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore 1985), pp. 12–19.

invalid. No one was eligible who was in good health and could provide for his own living by his own work. Each resident received an annual ration of bread, wine, dried vegetables, cheese and oil, plus wood for heating. If the pensioner became gravely ill, he could be admitted to the hospital. Separately from the monastic complex, the monastery also ran a leprosarium.

In addition to running old-age homes, where the elderly pensioners retained their lay status, monasteries also served the needs of the elderly Byzantine who decided to take monastic vows at an advanced age. Retirement to a monastery was a frequent solution to the problem of an older man or woman who either could not or did not wish to live with his children, and needed to find support and lodging outside the family circle. Sometimes it was even necessary for a married couple to separate and live in different monasteries. This was the case for the Byzantine historian George Sphrantzes and his wife Helen who found adoption of the monastic habit a welcome refuge, after their lives took a tragic turn in the wake of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Their two surviving children had died during captivity in the sultan's entourage, and by 1467 the formerly prosperous couple were without means of support. As Sphrantzes comments in his *History*, because he was "old, sick and penniless since the days of his enslavement [by the Turks]," he went first to the island of Leukas to seek a pension, "some yearly compensation," from its ruler. He was unsuccessful in his mission, however, and the next year, plagued by chronic rheumatism, he renounced his "secular clothes and assumed the habit," together with his wife.¹⁴

Even more frequently it was a widow or widower who would seek the solace of a monastery, which could provide food and lodging, companionship, nursing care, spiritual comfort, burial and commemoration in requiem masses, for those able to make the appropriate donation. Thus we read about a woman who was a refugee from the fourteenth-century Turkish occupation of Asia Minor and turned to monastic life, because she

was deprived of everything, and had no relative or any other consolation . . .
she had no one to help her . . . she was in a strange and alien land and had
no parents or husband.¹⁵

Many of the older inhabitants of monasteries, who retired there late in life, and might be considered a burden on monastic resources, were supported by a kind of pension, which they received in exchange for a contribution of land or money, usually 100 gold pieces. The case of a thirteenth-century widow called Zoe exemplifies the type of financial transaction which might

¹⁴ M. Philippides, tr., *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes, 1401–1477* (Amherst, Mass. 1980), p. 90.

¹⁵ B. Papoulia, "Die Vita des hl. Philotheos vom Athos," *Südostforschungen* 22 (1963), 274–76.

take place between a monastic community and an individual seeking security in her declining years. Toward the end of her life Zoe found herself without any familial support, and turned to the nunnery of Nea Petra in Thessaly to provide for her old age. In return for a donation of her ancestral property, including three vineyards, four fields, a fig tree and two houses, the convent agreed to admit her as a nun and support her for the rest of her life. Equally important, from Zoe's point of view, at the time of her death she was assured of proper burial and commemoration at the convent in requiem masses.

Younger monks and nuns considered it a pious duty to care for their aged colleagues. A tenth-century saint's life has preserved a graphic description of the final illness of Anna, the retired abbess of a convent in Thessalonike. Because of her failing vision, the centenarian had slipped and fallen in the courtyard, dislocated her hip, and consequently was bedridden for the seven years until her death. During the entire period she was tended by a younger nun, Theodora, who looked after her every need and even fed her. Theodora's patience was sorely tried during the final three years when Anna had become senile, and struck and cursed her dutiful attendant. She persevered, however, mindful of the Biblical injunction, "Child, care for your father in his old age, and do not cause him grief in his lifetime. And if he should lose his senses, have mercy on him and do not dishonor him. . ."¹⁶

VI. Economic Aspects of Monasticism

Monastic complexes were able to function, and to support cultural and philanthropic activities, only if they had a strong financial base. Many Byzantine monasteries were well endowed and survived for centuries, some to this day. Others could not afford to repair the roof and fell into ruins. As previously noted, Byzantines considered it a pious duty to make donations to monasteries, and many monastic institutions were able to accumulate substantial wealth and real estate, both in the form of farmland and urban workshops and houses at lease. Both urban and rural monasteries ran agricultural estates, and appointed a steward to handle business affairs, such as collecting rents from tenants and selling the harvest. The following excerpts from a property inventory give an idea of the holdings of an urban convent of ca. 1300; most of the donations were made by the foundress, the Dowager Empress Theodora Palaiologina, mother of Michael VIII:

From the estates of Achilleion and Barys . . . a portion worth 300 gold pieces; included . . . is the fish hatchery . . . in addition the mill of Thermene . . . also the vineyard of Emporianos . . . the village called

¹⁶ Vita S. Theodorae Thess., ed. E. Kurtz, *Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessalonich nebst der Metaphrase des Johannes Staurakios* [=Записки И. Академии Наук 8, сер. по историко-филологическому обществу, том 6, № 1] (St. Petersburg 1902), p. 21.

Nymphae . . . whose revenues from *paroikoi* (dependent peasants) and arable land are 260 gold pieces . . . another village, Skoteinon . . . whose income from *paroikoi* is 183 gold pieces plus 70 gold pieces from four mills, and 100 gold pieces from arable land of 2600 units.

Within Constantinople, among the properties owned by the nunnery were three vineyards, numerous gardens, six mills, and about 20 houses.¹⁷

Since monastic properties were generally exempt from taxation, vast amounts of land were removed from the tax rolls; at various times emperors tried to limit the foundation of new monasteries or their acquisition of more land.¹⁸ At the same time the monasteries saved the state money by performing some health and welfare services that in other societies might be provided by the government.

VII. Centers of Byzantine Monasticism

Byzantine monasteries were located both in cities and in isolated rural areas. As one would expect, the capital of Constantinople was an important monastic center, housing several hundred monasteries and convents. Some were distinguished for their libraries and scriptoria, others for their icons and relics, a few for their hospital or old-age home. Little survives today of these religious houses except for a few churches, like Chora and Pammakaristos, whose gleaming mosaics testify to the wealth of their aristocratic patrons.¹⁹ At the site of the Stoudios monastery, which once held hundreds of monks, now stands only a roofless basilica.

Rural monasteries have fared much better in surviving the centuries of Arab and/or Turkish occupation. A visitor to St. Catherine's in the Sinai desert, to the mountainous peninsula of Athos, or to the rocky spires of Meteora in Thessaly, can still witness and experience the living tradition of Byzantine monasticism. Oldest and most remote is St. Catherine's, built by the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century with a massive fortification wall to protect the monks from Bedouin raids. Continuously inhabited for 14 centuries, the monastery is an incomparable repository of the Byzantine heritage, housing a collection of over 2,000 icons, including extremely rare examples of encaustic painting from the pre-iconoclastic period. The library contains more than 3,000 manuscripts in a variety of languages (Greek, Arabic, Georgian, Syriac and Slavic) which reflect the diversity of the monks who have lived at Sinai.²⁰

¹⁷ *Typikon* of convent of Lips, ed. Delehaye, *Deux typica*, pp. 130–34.

¹⁸ See P. Charanis, "The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 4 (1948), 51–118.

¹⁹ P. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 4 vols. (New York–Princeton 1966–1975; H. Belting, C. Mango, D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C. 1978).

²⁰ J. Galey, *Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine* (London 1979); G. H. Forsyth, K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai. The Church and Fortress of Justinian*.

The Athos promontory was inhabited only by hermits until the tenth century, when the first monasteries were established there. At its zenith the "Holy Mountain" attracted thousands of monks, because it combined the reputation of its holy men with an isolated locale of stunning rugged beauty and proximity to the major cities of Thessalonike and Constantinople. Its dozens of monasteries, many of them still functioning, have played a vital role in preserving the traditions of Orthodoxy and hundreds of Byzantine manuscripts.²¹

The Meteora (literally "floating in the air") monasteries were a relatively late foundation, as monks did not begin to inhabit the rocky pillars until the fourteenth century. The eroded conglomerate formations, reminiscent of an other-worldly lunar landscape, are riddled with caves which provided shelter for hermits; more ambitious monks laboriously constructed entire monastic complexes atop some of the larger spires. Originally accessible only by rope ladders or by baskets hauled up by windlass, the monasteries offered particularly safe refuge during the final turbulent years of the Byzantine Empire, and during the four centuries of Turkish occupation.²²

VIII. Conclusion

Byzantine monasticism appeared in many forms, ranging from isolated mountain hermitages to populous urban monasteries: many monks moved frequently from one monastery to another, or shifted back and forth between a cenobitic and eremitic life style. People could take monastic vows at various stages of life, and in the monastery could pursue intellectual interests, engage in artistic or philanthropic activity, manual labor or a life of asceticism and prayer. Monasticism played such a key role in the Byzantine Empire, because it was a varied, flexible and fluid institution, which responded to the needs of society and affected the lives of people of all classes. At the same time monastic routines and rituals offered security and stability, a safe haven from the tempestuous events of the outside world. Monastic spirituality reflected the essence of Eastern Orthodoxy, a tradition that lives on today in the hymnography, music, art and architecture which still survive and demonstrate Byzantine creativity at its best.[‡]

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Plates (Ann Arbor, Mich. 1973); K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai. The Icons. I. From the 6th to the 10th c.* (Princeton 1976).

²¹ E. Amand de Mendieta, *La presqu'île des caloyers: le Mont Athos* (Bruges 1955); S. M. Pelekanides, *The Treasures of Mt. Athos*, 4 vols. (Athens 1974-).

²² D. M. Nicol, *Meteora, the Rock Monasteries of Thessaly* (London 1975).

[‡] *Editor's Note:* The author of this article is Executive Editor of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (in preparation).

Religious Key Terms in Hellenism and Byzantium: Three Facets

HENRY AND RENÉE KAHANE

In a first, typological, study,¹ we emphasized certain general features inherent in key terms. In what follows we exemplify our argument with three case histories. These share the linguistic milieu, Christianity in its Greek (or, in one instance, Greco-Latin) expression; and they represent incisive phases of ecclesiastical history which center on language. But the function of language changes from case to case.

The key word of the first account is a powerful term of the Pauline tradition, which, like many lexemes of Western civilization, survived in the language of the Church, yet changed its connotation and had to be "translated" by its exegetes, period after period.—The second analysis deals with a basic term of early monasticism, which (with its synonyms) dominated all phases of that life and thereby turned into a focus of metaphorization.—The last case is an attempt to reconstruct, through its key terms, the image of a medieval sect as it appeared to an eloquent enemy; what evolves is a linguistic field with, throughout, negative values.

I. Mutations of a Pauline Key Term: *Agape* and *Caritas*

St. Paul's "Hymn to Love" (1 Cor. 13), with such phrasings as "if I am without *love*, I am a sounding gong" / ". . . faith, hope, and *love*, but the

¹ "Linguistic Aspects of Sociopolitical Keywords," *Language Problems and Language Planning* 8 (University of Texas 1984), 143–60.

greatest of them all is *love*," had, through its key word, a considerable impact on religious lexicology. The key term is ἀγάπη in the Greek text and *caritas* in the Latin, and it exemplifies the potentialities inherent in a profane word, which in the hands of the erudite, with their classical outlook, turned into a stimulus for reinterpretation and readaptation. The following is a survey of the main semantic variations of *love* in the Greek and Latin of the Church Fathers and the medieval Latin of Scholasticism.²

1. *Greek Patristics.* In its first phase, as a technical term, ἀγάπη "love" still kept the connotations of the pristine Christian communities, in which it expressed, as in the Pauline passage, a new concept of human relationship: the people, in a mutual state of equality and united against the pagan world without, perceived themselves as a loving family, whose members were metaphorized as "brethren." The key concept "fraternal love for the neighbour" is dissected in the Apocryphal *Epistle to Diognetus* (c. 200): "Happiness consists not in the domination over neighbours [τῶν πλησίον], nor in wishing to have more than the weak, nor in wealth and power to compel those who are poorer. . . . [Happy is he who] takes up the burden of his neighbour, and wishes to help another, who is worse off in that in which he is the stronger" (X. 5-6).³

Hence, the early Fathers saw in ἀγάπη a moral concept, using the word as a synonym of φιλαδελφία "fraternal love (between brethren)" and κοινοφελές "common interest, benefit for all."⁴ Origen (2nd-3rd c.) stuck to this image. He stated explicitly that St. Paul, in his passage, "does not speak of *agape* for God but of that for one's fellow man—he (the Apostle) actually says that he is writing for the faithful. And all that is said today is just exaggerated."⁵ This view, which lasted into the Byzantine era, imparted to ἀγάπη the force of an axiom; it was the key term of a way of life, and its foremost promoter, John Chrysostom (fourth century) fixed its dominant position in the virtue system: "In the eyes of the Lord everything else ranks below ἀγάπη"⁶ and "Nothing is as pleasing to God as living κοινοφελῶς, for the common benefit."⁷

² It follows, above all, the thorough study by P. R. Balducelli, *Il concetto teologico di carità attraverso le maggiori interpretazioni patristiche e medievali di I ad Cor XIII* (Rome 1951). Hélène Pétré, *Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne* (Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 22 [Louvain 1948]), has analyzed the semantic ramifications of Lat. *caritas* up to the fourth century, as a contribution to the growth of Christian Latinity.

³ K. Lake, ed. and trans., *The Apostolic Fathers* (Loeb Classical Library, London 1912-1913), II, p. 373.

⁴ Pétré (above, note 2), pp. 115-17.

⁵ J. A. Cramer, ed., *Catena graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, V: *In epistolas S. Pauli Ad Corinthios* (Oxford 1844), 252.22-24.

⁶ J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 61: col. 289.

⁷ Migne, PG, 58: 714.

2. *Latin Patristics.* After some vacillation between the Grecism *agape* and its Lat. synonym *dilectio*, prevalent in second and third-century African Latinity, *caritas*, a derivative of *carus* “dear,” became with Cyprian (third century) the standard rendition of the Pauline term. Ambrosiaster, the fourth to fifth-century commentator on St. Paul’s letters,⁸ unidentified yet marked by his legalistic mind, was no longer bound by the tradition which shaped the Greek lexeme and was shaped by it. Virtue, to him, was to be judged by man’s actions, and *caritas*, expressing itself by, say, compassion or kindness, was perceived as the wellspring of merit. The mental state in which merit could be attained became a significant feature in the analysis of 1 Cor. 13: fear of punishment or selfishness were not the conditions appropriate for accomplishing the task; only love could do it. *Caritas*, in short, effected the disposition which made an action meritorious, that is, qualified a human for mercy from God. The Ambrosiaster likes the sober metaphor: “To enable them to make some profit, he [the Apostle] urges them on, to do things which would gather merit with God” (*Ad Colossenses* 3:13) and “he who is found to be patient in his tribulations gathers merit” (*Ad Romanos* 8:26). With the Ambrosiaster’s doctrine of merit, the moral orientation behind the Greek lexeme, emphasizing “brotherly love,” had given way to one focusing on religious virtue, with virtue determined by man’s deeds and motivations.

In the doctrine of St. Augustine (fourth to fifth century) the concept of *caritas* was central and displayed new facets. His exegesis of St. Paul’s passage came after his reading of Plotinus’ *Enneads* and blended the Pauline tradition and Neo-Platonic ideas. In particular, the impact of the Platonic *eros*, love searching for the idea of the good, is noticeable. With God being the absolute and invariable good, *caritas*, by referring to “love of God” became the dominant ethical concept, the yardstick for worthiness of eternal life. In St. Augustine’s formulation: “You may have gotten whatever you want—it will be of no use to you if you do not have the one thing [*caritas*]; you may have nothing else, but have this one and you have abided by the Law.”⁹

3. *Scholasticism.* By the first half of the thirteenth century, with the Scholastic movement at its height, a science of theology evolved which went beyond the traditional exegesis of the Scriptures. Its stronghold was the University of Paris, with the group of the *Magistri in Sancta Pagina*.¹⁰ Key words used by St. Paul became technical terms in the *Summae* of the period. The fundamental explication of *caritas*, holding for centuries to come, was owed to Thomas Aquinas. He followed the Ambrosiaster, with

⁸ *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur commentarius in epistulas paulinas* (Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum 81: 1–3) (Vienna 1966–1969).

⁹ *In epistolam ad Parthos* V, 7 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 35: col. 2016).

¹⁰ J. de Ghellinck, “*Pagina et Sacra Pagina*: Histoire d’un mot et transformation de l’objet primitivement désigné,” *Mélanges Pelzer* (Louvain 1947), p. 58.

caritas as the meritorious virtue, that is, as the wellspring of mercy. But he blended this explanation with the Aristotelian exegesis in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, of φιλία “friendship”: “equality and likeness are friendship” (VIII. 8) and “friendship depends on community” (VIII. 9). To Thomas Aquinas *communicatio*, mutual sharing and involvement, was, apparently, the key concept:¹¹ “Every love consists in some kind of oneness” (“In epistolam I ad Corinthios,” Lectio IV). It is the essential feature in his theological redefinition of *caritas* as *amicitia divina*, God's friendship for man. God, to him, was not only the object but also the subject of love. Thomas declared in his *Disputatio de malo*: “*Caritas*, which is *amor Dei*, God's love for man, controls all other virtues” (*Quaestiones disputatae*, VIII. 2). This statement says, particularly in view of the Aristotelian term “control” (*imperare* in Thomas), that (parallel to certain natural processes) in a supernatural order *caritas* “subordinates” all other moral and theological virtues to that very purpose.¹²

4. *Résumé.* The key word of St. Paul's passage stimulated reinterpretations. The term persisted, in its Greek as well as in its Latin form; the content changed. In the beginning it was an ordinary, nonliterary lexeme, surfacing with Christianity and summing up, with extraordinary simplicity, the social thrust of the rising movement. Then, with the new religion vigorously expanding, the tone-setting early Fathers institutionalized the hortatory concept as the cornerstone of a virtue system. In its transfer to the West, ἀγάπη became *caritas*, and the early use, which was closely linked to the Greek word, faded. For the Ambrosiaster *caritas*, as a virtue of high morality, was “a way to acquire merit,” and merit was the way to God. At the height of Scholasticism, Thomas Aquinas, under the stimulus of the Aristotelian quasi-synonym φιλία, added to *caritas* “man's love for God” a *caritas* “God's love for man” / “God's friendship for man.”

Typically, the set of the key term's changing connotations, which evolved from early to medieval Christianity and whose progression demands, step by step, some kind of “translation,” illustrates the dependence of meaning upon environment.

II. The Demon in the Pachomian Community

1. *The Setting.* The fourth-century monasteries, largely located around the Eastern Mediterranean, in regions such as Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Constantinople, were populated with simple people. They came from the farms and were often barely able, often even unable, to speak Greek, which

¹¹ L.-B. Gillon, “Les grandes écoles théologiques,” s.v. *Charité* in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, II (1953), 581.

¹² Balducelli (above, note 2), p. 175.

by then (and very much in that area) was the language of education. In their beliefs the monks preserved, intertwined with their Christianity, the tradition of popular religions, with their abundant ingredient of superstitions. The documentation of their monastic culture is of the greatest interest. As Festugière¹³ pointed out, these texts represent, within the heritage of Antiquity, the first sizable body of literature through which the "common people," the "country folk," make their voice heard. The popular vein is evident, above all, in the domain of "demonology," typical of this early monasticism. A text that contains a representative sample of this complex feature is the *Life of St. Pachomius* in its Greek version.¹⁴

Pachomius (c. 287–346), the indigenous son of a pagan peasant and himself a soldier, assembled around 320, in his monasteries at Tabennesi, in the Upper Egyptian Thebaid, several thousand monks unified in a movement created by him and called Cenobitism: living and working together in strict asceticism and in obedience to the rules of the community.

The mentor of Pachomius describes daily life in a few sentences, which in their terseness truly justify the monks' fear of demons: "My regimen is hard: in the summer I fast all day, and in the winter I eat once every two days. And by the Grace of God I only eat bread and salt. I am not used to oil and wine. I stay awake always half the night, as I was taught, for prayer and the study of God's words, and many times all night" (6).

The *Life of St. Pachomius*, probably rendering an (unknown) Coptic model, was written around 390 in Vulgar Hellenistic Greek.¹⁵ Viewed diachronically, the terminology of asceticism, as Reitzenstein has shown,¹⁶ draws heavily on the lexicon of popular Hellenistic philosophy. Festugière's attempt to link the Pachomians' "demon language" to ancient traditions of superstition is doubted by the most recent interpreter of the Pachomian community: to Rousseau¹⁷ it represents, with its purpose and its perception, "a genuine effort to achieve clarity of mind about the self and the world." The wellspring of the community's demonology is, to him,

¹³ A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, I, *Culture ou sainteté: Introduction au monachisme oriental* (Paris 1961), p. 25.

¹⁴ The following versions of the Pachomius tradition were used [with quotations according to sections]: The Greek text: *Vita Prima*, in *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae*, F. Halkin, ed. (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 19; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1932), pp. 1–96. English translation: A. N. Athanassakis, trans., *The Life of Pachomius* (*Vita Prima Graeca*) [with a reprint of Halkin's Greek text] (Society of Biblical Literature; Missoula, Mont. 1975). French translation: A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, IV: 2, *La Première Vie Grecque de Saint Pachôme: Introduction critique et traduction*. (Paris 1965), pp. 159–245.

¹⁵ Festugière, *La première vie grecque de Saint Pachôme*, pp. 7 and 156–57.

¹⁶ R. Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiacae: Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Mönchtums und der frühchristlichen Begriffe Gnostiker und Pneumatiker* (Göttingen 1916), pp. 98–99.

¹⁷ Ph. Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, VI [Berkeley 1985]: with extensive bibliography), p. 135.

Pachomius himself, and to explain the mind of Pachomius, Rousseau adduces an apocalyptic work of c. 200, *The Shepherd* by Hermas, by then widely read in Egypt. The following analysis, however, does not trace the genesis of the Pachomian "demon"; it is a synchronic survey: trying to describe the meaning and the use of *demon*, and the associations evoked by it in the cenobitic community.

2. *Onomasiology of the Demon.* The demons, ubiquitous in the narrative, are mentioned with varying names; yet, so far as we can see, the multiplicity of names represents synonymy: it does not seem to imply semantic nuances. The designations were given from, essentially, three angles.

(a) *The Christian Tradition.* The inherited Greek lexeme is δαίμων. In classical times it referred to a divinity somewhere between a god and the tutelary genius of human beings, vaguely perceived as an internal voice and correlated with fate. In the popular beliefs of late antiquity the term alluded to some ambivalent entity between good and evil, but then in Christianity, as a feature of the pagan heritage, the demon was degraded to a spirit of evil (whereas its good features were transferred to the angels). In Christian writings the δαίμων was made responsible for a human's vices without, however, exonerating the sinner from his responsibilities.¹⁸ In the *Life of Pachomius* the term appears repeatedly (e.g., in 8, 18, 52, 73, 112). The other somewhat "technical" expression which anticipates its cenobitic use in earlier applications is Σατανᾶς, usually restricted to the singular: "Keep awake . . . lest Satan [ο Σατανᾶς] tempt you and harm you" (6). The term is drawn from the Judeo-Christian tradition.¹⁹ In the Old Testament it refers to the adversary who tests and accuses in behalf of God; in 1 Chron. 21:1, *Satan* is the tempter, luring man into sin. In the Septuagint, Sirach 21:27 warns against blaming one's evil intentions on the *satan*: "In cursing the *satan* as unholy, one just curses one's own soul." The Church Fathers echoed the New Testament in calling Satan the "adversary," the "accuser," and the "evil one." A third lexeme of religious tradition, somewhat less technical because morphologically transparent, is ἀντικείμενος, "the opponent," "the adversary," in the phrase σωτηρία κατὰ τῶν ἀντικειμένων, *salvation from the adversaries* (96). The term, denoting the "evil powers as adversaries," was used likewise in the plural, by Clement of Alexandria, in the third century.²⁰

(b) *The Demon as Apparition.* Some of the terms for the *demon* stress the component of the "supernatural." (i) Πνεῦμα, "breath," in a complex development,²¹ turned into a metaphor of the immaterial breath of life,

¹⁸ G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961), s.v.

¹⁹ G. Kittel et al., *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart 1939–79), s.v.

²⁰ Migne, PG, 9:692D; Lampe, s.v. ἀντικείματι, c.

²¹ Kittel, s.v., 333–37.

applied to the “mind” of man and, under Judeo-Christian influence, to the transcendental “ghost.” The fourth-century catechist, Cyril of Jerusalem, was aware of the term’s ambiguity: καὶ ἄγγελος καλεῖται πνεῦμα . . . καὶ δαιμόνιος ἀντικείμενος καλεῖται πνεῦμα “an angel is called ‘spirit’ just as a hostile demon is called ‘spirit’” (*Catech.* 16:13).²² Epithets are used to integrate πνεῦμα into its context: in the magic *Papyrus Mimaut* 3.8 a numen is reverently addressed as ἵερὸν πνεῦμα, “holy spirit”; Acts 19:15, on the other hand, mentions τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρόν, “the evil spirit.” The latter phrase is a common one in the Pachomian community: πονηρὸν πνεῦμα (73) / πνεῦμα πονηρόν (84), “evil spirit.” (ii) Several expressions call the demon a “vision”: ὄραμα (99, 135), ὄπτασία (99), and φαινόμενον (87). (iii) Through lexemes describing a tricky transformation, the demon is marked as a hallucination: *took the shape of . . . [σχηματισθείς]* (8) / *in the form of . . . [σχήματι + gen.]* (19) / *took the form of . . . [τύπον λαβών]* (19) / *by appearing (in a deceptive guise)* [*τῷ φαίνεσθαι*] (18).²³

(c) *Persecution Mania*. Frequently the demon’s designation reveals a victim’s perception of his tormenter, that is, the monk’s dread of his own impulses.²⁴ But the enemy inside is described as if he were outside. The relevant appellations occur, to be sure, in Biblical parlance, yet as mere words they kept their *sensus litteralis* also independently of that tradition. The term that defines the relationship between monk and demon, most commonly and most simply, is ἔχθρος, *enemy*. An abbot, for example, mentions the *enemy* and adds: “Combating me all day long he has crushed me” (140). Vituperative expressions come naturally when they are applied to the *demon*: either in the form of a noun, such as θηρίον, *beast* (105), or in that of adjectives, such as πονηρὸν (πνεῦμα), *evil (spirit)* (73), and ἀλλότριος (λογισμός), *alien (thought)* (132). Also the demon’s primary function, *to tempt*, produced designations: he is called ὁ πειράζων, *the tempter* (18), and ὁ πειράσας ἔχθρος, *the enemy who tempted [them]* (131).

3. *The Language of Angst*. The Saint talks to the brethren about their sins (96): “He talked not only about bodily chastity but also about such various thoughts as lust for power, sloth, hatred toward a brother, and love for money.” The aim of his talk was to enlighten them on the measures of safety for salvation from the adversaries [σωτηρίας κατὰ τῶν ἀντικειμένων] (96). For sins are perceived, that is, expressed, through the medium of the “enemy.” He elicits, he exposes, and he symbolizes the weakness of the flesh. And he does it in many guises.

²² Lampe, s.v. πνεῦμα, I.

²³ A. and C. Guillaumont, *Démon: III. Dans la plus ancienne littérature monastique*, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, III (1967), 192.

²⁴ Festugière, *Les moines d’Orient*, I (above, note 13), pp. 34–35.

(a) *The Demons at Work.* The *Life of Pachomius* contains many “exempla” of human weakness which substantiate the ἐνέργεια δαιμόνων, *the demons in action* (8).

The case histories describe, first of all, the cardinal sins. *Pride:* There was an ascetic brother who [by showing off his asceticism] did not live by God. . . . [Pachomius warned him:] “*I see that you are envied by the enemy* [όρῳ σε φθονούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔχθροῦ]. . . . Do not pray much until you master *the demon of boasting* [τοῦ δαιμόνος τῆς καυχήσεως]” (69). — *Vainglory:* The evil spirits used to come in front of him and they marched on both sides, *as one does escorting a dignitary* [ώς ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος], saying to each other, “*Make room for the man of God* [δότε τόπον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ]” (18). — *Gluttony:* An evil spirit came to him *to tempt and to deceive him into the sin of eating first* [πειράσαι αὐτὸν τῇ ἀπάτῃ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἐν τῷ φαγεῖν αὐτὸν πρῶτον] from the food intended for the sick (84). — *Lust:* The evil spirit *took the shape of a beautiful and well-adorned woman* [σχηματισθεὶς εἰς γυναικείαν μορφήν] (8) and as he would sit to eat, they used to come *in the form of naked women* [σχήματι γυμνῶν γυναικῶν] to sit and eat with him (19). — *Anger:* [An abbot who broke certain rules of monastic life] *was angered* [ήγανάκτησεν] when reprimanded *owing to the temptation of the enemy* [κατὰ πειρασμὸν τοῦ ἔχθροῦ] and wanted to withdraw his monastery from the community . . . and with him not listening to his superior who tried to dissuade him, *the tempting spirit prevailed* [ἐνίσχυσεν ὁ πειρασμός] (127).

Broadly stated, offenses against cenobitic discipline set the demons in motion. Pachomius admonishes a neophyte: “*Why do you not pay attention to yourself* [προσέχεις σεαυτῷ] instead of *giving free rein to your heart* [ἀπέλυσας τὴν καρδίαν σου]?” (104). Two infringements of self-control, in particular, provoke the enemy. *Fear:* [The demons] attempted to shake the foundations of his hermitage, *threatening* [φοβερίζοντες] that it was to fall upon him (19). — As he was praying and about to kneel, [the demons] made the space in front of him appear as a pit, *so that he might not kneel out of fear* [ἴνα τῷ φόβῳ μὴ κλίνῃ γόνατα] (18). — *Laughter,* which the ascetic commonly has to restrain:²⁵ The evil spirit came and *took the form* [τύπον . . . λαβόν] of a cock and crowed in his face . . . *in order to relax his heart and make him laugh* [ὅπως γελάσει ἐν ἐκλύσει καρδίας] (19).

Angst and stress, flowing from the demons and enwrapping the monastic community, are echoed in a vocabulary of their own. Two key concepts subsume the main fears of the monk: that the demon wants to *harm him* and wants *to be his master*. Two sets of verbs correlate with these two hyperonyms.

²⁵ P. Keseling, “*Askese II.*,” in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, I (1950), p. 767, s.v.

(b) *The Demon as the "Destroyer."* The monk finds no peace of mind, always paralyzed by the fear “lest Satan tempt you and you suffer harm [βλαβῆς]” (6). The demon ruins the body and stifles the will power: “The Enemy acted wickedly within some of us [έποντρεύσατο ἐν τισιν ἡμῶν ἴδιοις]” (113). — “[The demon] is plotting against you [έπιβουλεύει σοι]” (69). — The evil spirits wished to lay him low [καταβαλεῖν] (18). — The enemy wickedly destroys the body [τὸ σῶμα ἀφανίζει κακίᾳ] (118). — “Envied by the enemy I see you lose all your labor [ἀπολέσαι ὅλον τὸν κάματόν σου]” (69). — “... that the enemy may not scatter the fruits of our father’s labor [διασκορπίσῃ τὸν κάματον τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν]” (131).

(c) *The Demon as “Master.”* He dominates his man, instils desires, and always “stands in his way”: [The Enemy] gains mastery of the entire man [κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅλου], who is then destitute of anything good (75). — Thus the enemy found a place in him [εὑρὼν ἐν αὐτῷ τόπον] . . . (118). — As the demon was shooting him with an evil desire [εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν κακὴν τοξεύοντος αὐτόν], the monk became inclined to sin (8). — The enemy has eaten up the willingness of the soul [καταφαγὸν τὴν προθυμίαν τῆς ψυχῆς] (118). — When the evil spirit that had deceived him saw that he was under its control [ὑποχείριον τοῦτον εἶναι] . . . (8). — The demons in every way try to stand in the way of the faithful [ἐν παντὶ ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς πιστούς] (52).

(d) *Ecstasy.* For the monk unaware that his blasphemy was implanted by the Enemy, ἔκστασις, a breakdown, is bound to follow: “If one is neither sufficiently vigilant nor consults a wise man in order to learn to overcome the enticement to blasphemy, the latter will destroy him [ἢ τῆς βλασphemίας ὑποβολὴ . . . τοῦτον ἀπολέσει]. . . Many men, in fact, killed themselves” (96). They were victims of their πάθος.²⁶ The demons, in short, have seen to it that his guilt has made him “deranged.” “One, in a state of ecstasy [ώς ἔκστατικός] threw himself down from a cliff” (96); another monk, who was “in a frenzied state” [ἔκστατικὸν ὅντα], the demon threw into the furnace . . . and he was burned (8).

4. *The Language of Resistance.* The saga of the ascetic brother, the ἀσκητὴς ἀδελφός (69), always on trial and always struggling, created its linguistic field, the δύναμις ἀθλητοῦ, the “strength of the champion,” as Athanasius called it in his *Vita Antonii*.²⁷ The semantic aspects of the terminology highlight the monk’s strategies.

(a) *Warfare.* Soldierly drill was, to begin with, a feature of the Pachomian monastery,²⁸ and the all-pervading demon transformed and

²⁶ Translated as “passion” by Athanassakis, and as “illness” by Festugière.

²⁷ Migne, PG 26:861A.

²⁸ J. Olphe-Galliard, “Cénobitisme,” in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, II (1953), 405.

metaphorized the monk into a *soldier-in-action*. The key terms of his feats play up such efforts of his as *vigilance*, *obedience*, and *combat*.

(i) *Vigilance* [νήψις] was a monastic virtue of the time:²⁹ [A monk testing a possessed fellow monk] was scared, thinking of how much vigilance man needs to escape the wiles of the demons [διὰ πόσης νήψεως ἐκφύγῃ τὰς ποικιλίας τῶν δαιμόνων ὁ ἄνθρωπος] (69). —If perchance he is not vigilant [έὰν μὴ νήψῃ] the enemy will defeat him in some other matter (75). —“Keep awake [νήψε] . . . lest Satan tempt you and harm you” (6). —. . . being awake [ἄγρυπνον ὅντα] day and night he might defeat the enemy (22). —Unless he who is tempted is not exceedingly keen [ἀκρότατος διακριτικός] in discerning the tempter he is deceived (135). —. . . to be blameless in knowing and not ignoring [ἐν τῷ εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν] the power of the enemy (56). —He, aware of the tricks [τὰς τέχνας συνιῶν] of his tempters . . . (18).

(ii) *Obedience*, a religious concept since the *Septuagint* and the New Testament,³⁰ became a fundamental feature in the hierarchical structure of monasticism. Pachomius inculcated it upon his monks as a most desirable cenobitic virtue:³¹ Seeing [Pachomius'] obedience in everything [τὴν εἰς πάντα ὑπακοήν] and the progress of his endurance, the old man [his guide to monasticism] rejoiced (6). On the other hand, the reverse, disobedience [ἀπειθεια], as well as “obedience in the wrong place” hand a monk over to the demon: since he [the monk] was disobeying and about to be possessed by the demon [ἀπειθοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλοντος δαιμονισθῆναι] . . . (69), and coming from the mouth of the demon: “My man is obedient [τινὰ ἔχω εὐπειθῆ]. If I [the demon] advise him, he listens to me [ἀκούει μου] and does it” (73).

(iii) *Combat*. Military duty for the faith was a feature of Christianity from its early stages on: “I have not come to bring peace but a sword” (Matt. 10:34) / “Let us . . . put on our armor as soldiers of the light” (Rom. 13:12). The topos of the Fighting Christian reached a peak in the monastic movement, which fused the concept of the plotting enemy with the doctrine of virtues and vices, and identified the vices with the demons: In his struggle he did not allow [ἀγωνιζόμενος οὐ συνεχώρει] unclean thoughts to settle in his heart (18). —. . . an unyielding man [ἄνθρωπον σκληρόν] (73). —“You saw the demons and you combated them to ward them off from souls [πολεμῶν αὐτοὺς

²⁹ Lampe, s.v.

³⁰ Bauer (*A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, trans. and adapt. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, 2nd ed. Chicago 1979), and Lampe, s.vv. ὑπακοή, ὑπακούω.

³¹ P. Resch, *La doctrine ascétique des premiers maîtres égyptiens du quatrième siècle* (Paris 1931), p. 238.

ἀποστῆσαι τῶν ψυχῶν]" (112). —[Each brother confessed to him] *how he battles the enemy [ώς πολεμεῖ τὸν ἔχθρόν]* (132). —“... the beast which has been making war on you [τὸ πολεμοῦν ὑμᾶς θηρίον] ... Silvanus has slain it [ἔσφαξεν αὐτόν]” (105).

(b) *Faith.* The language of faith creates a shield against temptation, formulated either as an appeal to the Lord or as some symbolic evocation of the Scriptures (intertwined with traditions of religious practice).

(i) *Appeal to the numen.* He constantly *kept in mind the fear of God [έμελέτα τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ]* and *remembered the Judgment and the tortures of the eternal fire [...* καὶ τὴν μνήμην τῶν κρίσεων καὶ τὰς βασάνους τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ αἰωνίου] (18). —*Through his hope in God [τῇ εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἐλπίδι]* he laughed at the tempters scornfully (18). —He would teach the brothers ... how to *oppose the enemy with the Lord's power [ἀντικεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Κυρίου]* (56). —“*If you speak with faith [μετὰ πίστεως λέγων]*, the demon's suggestion will vanish like smoke” (96). —He ... *knelt with faith [μετὰ πίστεως ἐγονυπέτει]*, bringing shame upon [the demons] with *his praise of God [τὸν Θεὸν εὐλογῶν]* (18).

(ii) *Evocation of the Scriptures.* Having learned from the Holy Scriptures and especially from the Gospel [μαθὼν ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου], he endured many temptations by evil spirits (17). —*Against them he recited the psalm [έμελέτα κατ' αὐτῶν τὸν ψαλμόν . . .]*, “God is our refuge and strength” (19). —... the various temptations which he *withstood in accordance with the Gospel and his True Faith [οὓς ὑπέμεινεν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὴν ὄρθην αὐτοῦ πίστιν]* (30). —Thus, one of the demons says, “... when I suggest a thought to him, he stands up immediately and prays [εὐθὺς στήκει εἰς εὐχήν]. So I burn and come out” (73). —“You should guard yourselves and make the sign of the cross in the name of Christ [σφραγίζεσθε τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ]. If you oppose the evil spirits, they will have no power over you” (73).

(c) *Stoicism.* A few times the monk succeeds in mastering the demon through ἀπάθεια, the suppression of his emotions. This strategy was known to the Egyptian monks from early on.³² The defense, a poor man's stoicism, is metaphorized as “paying no attention” and “closing the eyes of the mind”: When he saw them, he sighed at them, and *since he paid no attention [μὴ προσέχοντος αὐτοῦ]* they departed (19). —*So he would close the eye of his mind [καμμύοντος αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄφθαλμὸν τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ]*, and the enemy would disappear, having accomplished nothing against him (19).

³² Lampe, s.v. ἀπάθεια; see also J. B. Russell, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca, NY 1981), p. 185.

(d) *God behind the Demon.* One way, finally, of allaying the unholy dread of the demons is to eliminate them by positing a design of God behind the machinations of the "enemy."³³ The demon is the Lord's tool of trying, and by providing the monk on trial with the chance to conquer, the demon works for the good of the soul. By association with *God's will* and *Divine concession* the negative connotation of concepts such as "temptation" and "trial" is scaled down: *God tests his servants in various ways* [δοκιμαστῆς ὁ Θεὸς . . . ποικίλως] (52). —*Through divine concession* [ἐκ θείας συγχωρήσεως] he saw evil spirits at work (8). —His being tempted by various temptations . . . *happened through divine concession and trial* [ἡν ἐκ συγχωρήσεως θείας καὶ δοκιμῆς] (18). —*If with the Lord's will* [τοῦ Κυρίου βουλομένου] he ever saw a vision or an apparition . . . (99). —What kept the suffering monk going was, in short, *the thought that God was training him* [ἡ μνήμη τοῦ παιδεύοντος Θεοῦ] (20).

5. *Epilogue.* We have attempted to describe the characteristic aspect of a religious movement, Cenobitism, through the analysis of its most conspicuous key term, *demon*. The term was embedded in a representative hagiography, and the concept behind the word (and its synonyms) evolved, in changing contexts, as the dominating force in all phases of the monk's life: as his enemy and his savior, his weakness and his strength, the Devil and God. With such a load of transfers and associations, *demon* illustrates well an essential feature of key terms. On the level of the "text," it expresses the *literal meaning*, which evokes the *allegorical meaning* "hidden" (in Dante's phrasing³⁴) "under the cloak of the narrative." In the text at hand, the story, that is, the *sensus litteralis*, focuses on the demon, the monk's tempter and oppressor, but what is really meant by "demon," that is, its *sensus allegoricus*, concerns the monk's restless ego. Interestingly, in the Pachomian *Vita* these two levels of meaning are correlated with domains of religious attitude and style: the *sensus litteralis* uses the images of popular beliefs and lore to highlight the drama inherent in monastic existence, which is the theme of the *sensus allegoricus*.

III. The Paulician Heresy as seen by Orthodoxy

1. *Introductory.* Our third approach views a movement as a linguistic field. The movement chosen as an example is that of the Paulicians, an offshoot of the Byzantine Church which flourished, from the seventh to the ninth century, in Asia Minor, at the eastern frontier of Hellenism. It was a

³³ J. A. Timbie, *Dualism and the Concept of Orthodoxy in the Thought of the Monks of Upper Egypt* (Diss., University of Pennsylvania [University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Mich.] 1979), pp. 135–36. A. Kallis, "Geister (Dämonen)," C II. *Griechische Väter*, in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, IX (1976), 712–14, s.v.

³⁴ H. and R. Kahane, "Linguistic Aspects of Sociopolitical Keywords" (above, note 1), 148.

dualistic and docetist sect, returning to the roots of Evangelical Christianity. Its religious language was marked by a bent for the allegorical reading of the Sacred Scriptures, contrasting with the literalness of Orthodox exegesis.

The text on which the analysis rests is by Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople and the dominant figure of the Byzantine Renaissance.³⁵ He acquired his detailed knowledge of the movement around 871–72, through two writings: the summary, *About the Paulicians* by a certain Abbot Petrus, and the *History of the Heresy of the Paulicians* by the ecclesiastical annalist Petrus Siculus (Πέτρος Σικελιώτης). The two “Peters” refer, quite possibly, to the same man. The Patriarch, without mentioning it, plagiarized these two works so that, so far as the facts were concerned, he did not contribute much. Yet compared with his models (at least with Peter, the Abbot) he was more of a writer, marked by “a style quite diffuse and prolix” and thus very suitable for a repository of key words. The typology of the “heretic,” which evolves from the Byzantine corpus of key terms, prefigured in many features the image of the Western medieval heretic.³⁶

The key terms which define the movement center on four main themes: the image of the heretic; verbal strategy; illusions; and propaganda.

2. *Image of the Heretic.* The Patriarch's rejection of the heretical doctrines, an inherent feature of the contemporary Orthodox attitude, determined his perception of the men who represented them (mostly men are implicated). Their image evolves in the process. A few specific facets of the portrait become the portrayer's favorites:

(a) *Misbegotten.* Evil breeds evil, and the traditional scapegoats of society are indicted: Some of the leaders are the *offspring of Saracens* ['Αγαρηνῶν . . . γεννήματα]; others are *marked by the outrages and sufferings of slavery* [τοῖς τῆς δουλείας κατεστιγμένους . . . καὶ ὑβρεσι καὶ παθήμασι]; others again are the *progeny of adultery* [μοιχείας . . . βλαστήματα]; some, finally, reveal themselves as *disciples of female madness and ranting judgment* [παραφροσύνης γυναικείας καὶ ἐμμανοῦς γνώμης μαθητάς] (102).

(b) *Egalitarian.* The priests of heresy are accused of not upholding the dignity of the office: in their pursuit of populism they do not manifest, either in dress or in manners, *their distinctiveness from the common people*

³⁵ The version of the Photius text used here, entitled Διήγησις τῆς νεοφανοῦς τῶν Μανιχαίων ἀναβλαστήσεως, “Account of the Recent Revival of the Manichaeans,” was established by W. Conus-Wolska, with a French translation by J. Paramelle, on the opposite pages (*Travaux et Mémoires*, 4; Paris 1970; pp. 120–73). Quotations are according to sections. The Paulician movement, documentation, and scholarship were examined with circumspection by P. Lemerle, “L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques” (*Travaux et Mémoires*, 5; Paris 1973; pp. 1–144).

³⁶ As drawn by H. Grundmann in 1927: “Der Typus des Ketzers in mittelalterlicher Anschauung,” repr. in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, I, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 25:1 (Stuttgart 1976), pp. 313–27.

[τὸ διάφορον αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος] (34). —The people *call them not priests but "fellow travelers"* (a Pauline term, here approximately “comrades”) [οὐχὶ ιερεῖς, ἀλλὰ συνεκδήμους . . . ἐπονομάζουσιν] (34). —All of them, functioning as a group and equal in status [ὁμοτίμως ἀλλήλοις αὐτοὶ κατὰ πλῆθος], guide the people (143).

(c) *Secretive.* The heretics are described as if they were a secret society. The leaders were anxious *not to confide right away* [μὴ κατ’ ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς . . . θαρρεῖν] to the newcomers the ultimate of sacrileges, *nor to display before them* [μηδὲ . . . προτιθέναι] the most abominable of the mysteries (111). —A dominant teacher and leader is described as “expounding and confiding his own doctrines about himself to a specially selected group” [εἰς τὸ ἔξηρημένον] (97). —Non-initiates are barred and the climate of mystery is cultivated. The slogan is succinct, indeed: “*think and speak together only in secrecy*” [μυστικῶς καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους] (97). —*Scripta manent:* One of the leaders *avoided confiding* [παραδοῦναι οὐκ ἔθαρρησεν] his heretical thoughts to writing (6). —(Another one hoped that) by *escaping* (through emigration) *from intercourse with other people* [τῷ ἀνεπιμίκτῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων] and thus *being among themselves* [καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ὅντας], they would be able to devote themselves, without fear and openly, to their diabolical and extravagant practices (147). —The Patriarch underlines the secrecy of the *mysteries* [μυστήρια] by accusing the heretics of *secret orgies* [ἀπορρήτων . . . ὄργιών] (143), and blames them for excelling in *secret magics and witchcraft* [ἐν ταῖς μυστικαῖς μαγγανείαις τε καὶ γοντείαις] (142).

(d) *Stubborn.* The heretics remain obstinate, above all, in regard to their return to orthodoxy: the attempts to convert them to the right faith come to a dead end [πρὸς ἀνόνητον . . . πέρας] (56). —Instead of converting they displayed incorrigibility [τὸ ἀδιόρθωτον ἐπεδείξαντο] (68). —They absolutely refuse [οὐδαμῶς καταδέχονται] to curse their leaders (10). —Not even by the sword came their impious vigor to a halt [μηδὲ (ξίφει) ισταμένης] (56). —The obsession applied even to the group: a leader suffered death by burning together with those of his disciples whom unrepentance seized [ὅσους εἶλεν τὸ ἀμεταμέλητον] (70).

(e) *Fraudulent.* This salient feature of the heretical image is realized in many forms. One heretic is called “a natural in *making up things and lying*” [τερατευόμενος καὶ ψευδολογῶν], and a certain claim of his about his mission is judged by the Patriarch “as one of the many stories which he embroidered and fabricated” [διερραψώδει καὶ συνέπλαττεν] (63). —Another heretic knows how to get rid of his impieties: by simply *disavowing them* [διὰ τῆς ἀρνήσεως ἀποδυομένου] (74). —The brisk word portrait of the apostate Sergius, a leading Paulician (living in the first half of the ninth century and coming from the theme of Armeniakon), consists of variations of perfidy. He outshines his forerunners in *fraud* [ῥᾳδιουργίᾳ] / *craftiness* [περινοίᾳ] / *scheming* [μηχανουργίᾳ] / *wily*

manners [έπικλόποις ήθεσιν] (108). Sergius' scheming produces further synonyms: Photius calls him *most apt for any kind of intrigue* [πρὸς πᾶσαν δραματουργίαν δεινότατον], and *sharp in contriving tricks* [όξὺν δόλους ράψαι] (96). But the richest terminology of fraud which Sergius evoked concerns the art of dissimulation: he is experienced in *hiding his thought* [κρύψαι τὸ φρόνημα] at the right time (96). —*He used to transmute himself* [ἐσυτὸν μετέπλαστεν] into a thousand guises, *adapting* [ἀρμοζόμενος] to the diverse characters of the deceived; with shrewd metaphorical insight *he transformed himself and turned into* [τυπούμενος καὶ διαπλαστόμενος] a monkey or a lion or a fox (122). —He was terrific in *feigning* [σχηματίσασθαι] virtue (96). —His conduct was *a faked show of virtues* [σκηνὴ ἀρετῶν προβεβλημένη]: his graciousness was just *simulated behavior* [κατεσχηματισμένος τρόπος], as were his *sweetness* [ήμερότης] and his *humble ways* [ταπεινὸν ήθος] (126), although whatever the circumstances *he showed off* [ἡλαζονεύετο] (115).

(f) *Lewd. Their way of life* [ἡ πολιτεία τούτων] is dragged into the open as a welcome weapon against them. A harsh vocabulary describes the heretics' unrestrained conduct (36), with the key phrase, *it is full of licentiousness* [γέμει ἀκολασίας]. They are marked by *drunkenness* and *profligacy* [μέθη καὶ ἀστείᾳ]; and *they indulge in the two varieties of love life* [χρῶνται μίξεσιν ἐκατέρας φύσεως], involving the opposite as well as their own sex. The Patriarch's conclusion: *They lead a life in no way inconsistent with their doctrines* [οὐδὲν τὸν βίον ἀπάδοντα τοῖς δόγμασιν περιφέρουσι].

3. *Verbal Strategy.* Two sets of key words evolve from the diatribe of the Patriarch which reveal what to him and to his cause was the essence of apostasy: *negativism* and the *manipulation of the Sacred Words*.

(a) *Negativism.* The attitude of denial and rejection, attributed to the heretics, is expressed by negative prefixes (ἀ- / δυσ- / ἀπο-) and by verbs of rejection (πτύω, “spit” / πλύνω ὕβρεσι, “wash with abuses”). The Patriarch's strongest effect results from the reverse collocation of terms associated with heresy: God is “negated” whereas the Devil is glorified with the epithets appropriate only for God. The hyperonym expressing the heretics' non-conformism is βλασφημέω “blaspheme,” lit. “speak (φημ-) evil (βλαστ-): . . . reviling [βλασφημοῦντες] our Supreme-Holy Mistress, the Mother of God (19). Some synonyms: most of all . . . *they revile* [δυσφημοῦντιν] Peter (since he disclaimed Christ) (23). —. . . *reviling* [δυσφημοῦντες] the lifegiving Cross (22). —*They do not accept* [(οὐκ) . . . ἀποδέχονται] either the priests of the Catholic Church (that is, the Church before the Great Schism) or the other members of the clergy (34). —[Peter] they *consider* utterly to be rejected and turned away from [ἀπόβλητον καὶ ἀποτρόπαιον τίθενται] (25). —*They spit at* [διαπτύνοντες] the saving baptism (30). —*They abuse with a thousand outrages* [μυρίαις ὕβρεσι

πλύνοντες] the Holy Communion (21). —In regard to their doctrines they are *impious* [δυσσεβεῖς] and they are equally *in discord* [ἀσύμφωνοι] with the truth as they are with each other (36). —The summa of their secret doctrines is the *complete negation of God* [ἀρνητική παντελῆς θεοῦ] and their belief in the *glory and power and creative force of the devil* [τοῦ διαβόλου δόξα καὶ κράτος καὶ δημιουργίας ἰσχύς] (111).

(b) *Heretical Exegesis.* In the heretics' hands, as the Patriarch is convinced, the sacred body of the Scriptures fares badly. The truths anchored in the Holy Words are cynically distorted. The “unholy philology” of the heretics (as one is tempted to call this view) evoked a phraseology of its own, focusing on the *manipulation of the text*, with its reinterpretations, adaptations, deletions, additions, and incoherences. Their technique of obscurantism involves, above all, semantics: meanings are insinuated, falsified, invented, colored, and hidden.

A sweeping statement sets the tone: the heretic exegete is *falsifying and mutilating the entire meaning of Orthodoxy* [ὅλον τὸν νοῦν τῆς εὐσέβειας διαστρέφων καὶ καταθραύνων] (6). The theme is endlessly varied: The exegete tries *to adapt and to adjust* [έναρμόζειν τε καὶ περιάπτειν] the words of the Gospel and the Apostle to his doctrines (58). —*Tearing those words out from their context* [τὰς λέξεις ἐκεῖθεν ἀποσπαράξαντες], *they assign them* [ταύτας ἐπιφημίζουσι] to quite impious meanings (17). —The heretic *ascribes and insinuates meanings to the words* [ἀνάπτει καὶ ὑποβάλλει (τοῖς ὅγησις) νοήματα], which have no counterpart in the Holy Sayings, nor is there *any coherence* [οὐδεμία ἀκολουθία] in these meanings but *they are full of contradictions* [μάχεται πρὸς ἄλληλα] (7). —He invested all his cunning and effort in *reading and instilling* (his doctrines) *into the words* [ὑποβάλλειν τε καὶ ὑποιθέναι ὥρμασιν] of the Lord and the Apostle (60). —They are the ones who truly, to their own perdition, *twist and distort* [στρεβλοῦντες καὶ διαστρέφοντες] the sayings of the Lord, the citations from the Apostle Paul, and other Scriptures (27). —The heretics *adulterate* [κατακιβδηλεύοντες] the Holy Words . . . *they obscure their impious thought* [τὸ δυσσεβὲς ἐπισκιάζουσι φρόνημα] (152). —One heretical leader used, on the face of them, *the ecclesiastical words* [τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς λέξεις], under which he was hiding [ἔκρυπτεν] the deadly poison of apostasy (81); and *he tinged* (the impieties) *with orthodox words* [ὥρμασιν ὥρθοδόξοις ἐπιχρωννύντος] (74). —*His words were the familiar and common ones* [τὰ ὥρματα ἡσαν τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ κοινά], but *the meanings of these words were those of apostasy and were secret* [τὰ δηλούμενα τῆς ἀποστασίας καὶ μυστικά] (76). —The heretics *make a travesty of the Words of the Lord* [τερατολογοῦντες τὰ δεσποτικὰ ὥρματα] (21).

Behind the heretic's verbal defense against accusations the Patriarch senses an unholy case of “heretical semantics.” While overtly pronouncing

the traditional religious words the heretic covertly substitutes his own, quite devious, meaning for the one accepted by Orthodoxy. The following are examples of such strategy, with emphasis on the terminology of "distortion." For Theotokos, "Godbearing," that is, Mother of God, they substitute [ὑποβάλλονται] Heavenly Jerusalem, which (with an allusion to Hebr. 6:20) "Christ entered as precursor for us," and by this switch they show that they do not recognize the Virgin Mary (19). —For the word [τῇ φωνῇ] "baptism" they substitute [ὑποβάλλοντες] the sayings of the Gospel (as spoken by the Lord in John 4:10–14): "I am the living water," and thereby reveal their rejection of baptism as a sacred rite (30). —For the "cross" the deceivers and sorcerers *dream up the meaning* [ἀναπλάττοντες] "Christ Himself," visualized with outstretched arms (that is, different from the Crucifix) (22). —The terms Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are pious, to be sure, but the heretics *impute to them* [ὑποβάλλοντες δὲ ταύταις] the extreme impiety. . . . When they say "Father" they don't proclaim [οὐ . . . ἀνακηρύττοντες] Him "the Almighty" . . . , but they link [ἐπισυνάπτουσιν] the term "Father" with "the heavenly," thereby completely denying to Him the sovereign power over both heaven and earth (17). With these changes in the Creed their dualism becomes manifest: *they confess two principles* [δύο ἀρχὰς ὄμολογούσιν], as the Manichaeans do, distinguishing between two Gods, *the heavenly father* [τὸν ἐπουράνιον πατέρα] and *the demiurge of the material world* [τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦ κόσμου] (15).

4. *Illusions.* Another trait of the heretics likewise rooted in language, which the Patriarch denounces, is their urge to identify with persons and features of primitive, prevalently Pauline, Christianity. They realize their compulsion in two ways: either they feign to be someone they are not, or they transfer the nomenclature of orthodoxy onto their own heretical institutions.

(a) *The alter ego.* Sergius, that central figure of the movement, tended to identify himself with higher beings, and the verbs of self-assertion, which verbalize the transformation, commonly express their inherent autism either by the reflexive pronoun ἔαυτόν, "himself," or by a middle-voice ending. The Patriarch accuses Sergius: he did not shrink from "*naming himself* [καλεῖν ἔαυτόν] Paraclete and Holy Ghost nor from letting his disciples *call and perceive him* [ὄνομάζειν τε καὶ νομίζειν] in this way" (97). —In a similar passage the term for Sergius' self-glorification is even stronger: *he celebrated himself* [ὑμῶν ἔαυτόν] as the Holy Ghost (114). Sergius *called himself* "doorkeeper, shepherd, and guide" [έκάλει . . . ἔαυτὸν καὶ θυρωρὸν καὶ ποιμένα καὶ ὁδηγόν] (118) and, quite in line with such a self-image, transformed himself into Tychicus, a disciple of St. Paul's, whom the Apostle called "beloved brother" (Eph. 6:21) and "fellow-servant in the Lord" (Col. 4:7): Sergius not only *usurped the name* [οὐ τὴν κλῆσιν ἐκκλέπτων μόνον] but *remodeled in his own image and faked and*

appropriated [εἰς ἔαυτὸν μεταπλάστων καὶ παραχαράσσων καὶ ὑποβαλλόμενος] the very identity of Tychicus (113).

The link to Paulinism, sharply stressed in Photius' portrait of Sergius, was cultivated, indeed, by the Paulicians. The practice started with Constantine, the organizer of the movement (seventh century, from Armenia): *he pretended to be* [έαυτὸν ἔλεγεν εἶναι] the one whom the Letters of Paul the inspired mention under the name of Silvanus; he was the travel companion of Paul in Philippi (Acts 16:19 ff.) (63). The expression, much in vogue, of "belonging" by adopting the name of a Pauline disciple produced a considerable accumulation of synonyms for "name-changing": ἔαυτὸν μετωνόμασεν (5) / ἔαυτὸν μετονομασάμενος (8) / ἔαυτὸν μετεκάλεσεν (8) / αὐτὸν ἐπωνόμαζεν (113) / μεταβεβλημένος τὸ κύριον (the name) (8) / τὴν κλῆσιν (the name) μετέθετο (69). The metonymy spread from humans to places. The Patriarch castigated the Paulicians' phony practice of designating their churches, and thereby their townships, by the terminology sanctified by the Pauline Letters (12–14). He mentions such names as Φιλιππήσιοι / Ἐφέσιοι / Κολασσαῖς, as well as Λαοδικεῖς, after a letter apparently sent to the Laodiceans (Col. 4:16). One church is called Ἀχαΐα, after the Achaians mentioned in 2 Cor. 1:1; another one, Μακεδονία, after the area of Paul's travels (Acts 16:11–12; 17:1).

(b) *Lexical Camouflage.* The heretics hide behind the language of orthodoxy: *they feign to rely on* and *they pretend to lay claim to* [προσανέχειν ὑποπλάττονται . . . ἀντιποιεῖσθαι σχηματίζονται] the Words of the Lord and the Letters of the Apostle Paul; and the Patriarch qualifies their citation of the sources as done in a malicious and dishonest spirit (52). —The act of make-believe is expressed by some verbs for "naming" which tie a good "word" to a bad "thing": While they stamp the true Christians as "Romans," *they claim the label "Christians" for themselves* [έαυτοῖς τὴν κλῆσιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν περιάπτουσιν] (16). —One of the leaders, Gegnesius, is described as *calling his own impiety "orthodox"* [όρθόδοξον καλῶν τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀσέβημα] (75). —*They call their assemblies a "Catholic Church"* [καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὰ ἔαυτῶν καλοῦσι συνέδρια] (29). —Gegnesius expresses the same simile with more elaborate verbs: *He perceived and extolled the assemblies of the Manichaeans as the "Catholic Church"* [τὰ συνέδρια τῶν Μανιχαίων καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐνενόει τε καὶ ἀπεσέμνυνεν] (79). —Also the townships with the Pauline names, which are the centers of their organization and indoctrination [σύστημα καὶ διδασκαλία] (14), are their *so-called "churches"* [αἱ λεγόμεναι ἐκκλησίαι] (15).

5. *Propaganda.* The expansionist zeal of the heretics, with its inroads into the ranks of orthodoxy, weighs on the Patriarch's mind. It stimulates many remarks of his, directed against their campaigning, which, as a whole, yield the terminology of a missionary movement—as seen by its opponent.

The language dwells on three aspects of the process: the tactics of the preachers, the ways of the people who become their willing victims, and the fate in store for them.

(a) *The Missionaries*. The emissaries of heresy are *teachers and heralds* [διδάσκαλοι καὶ κήρυκες] (102), handling indoctrination and propaganda. The qualifications for the selection of heralds are stated: those whom the leaders found *excelling in impiety, and very active in evildoing* [τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τῇ δυσσεβείᾳ διαφέροντας, καὶ δραστηρίους ὅντας τὸ κακοποιῆσαι], they sent out into new lands as *heralds of lawlessness* [κήρυκας τῆς ἀνομίας] (3). One *herald of impiety* [κήρυξ τῆς ἀσεβείας], who had passed through many towns and countries, is depicted as more *ardent* [διάπυρος] than any one before him, *hunting, deceiving, ensnaring souls* [θηρῶν, ἀπατῶν, παγιδεύων . . . ψυχάς] (115). This very man, Sergius, most persuasive in *preaching impiety* [κηρῦξαι τὴν ἀσέβειαν] (96), had himself been defiled in his youth by a woman teaching and preaching [γυναικί τινι πρεσβευούσῃ τε καὶ κηρυττούσῃ] the destructive doctrines of the Manichaeans (101).

When the missionary was taken for a *teacher* [διδάσκαλος] (66, 69) or, with emphasis on the religious aspect, for a *mystagogue* [μυσταγωγός] (3), that designation was usually qualified by some negatively slanted epithet such as *of apostasy* [ἀποστασίας] (69) or *of perdition* [ἀπωλείας] (66) or *of defilement* [μύσους] (3). These agents work in the area assigned to or selected by them, from a base of operations described as a *workshop of error* [έργαστηριον τῆς πλάνης] (66) or an *impious school* [δυσσεβὲς διδασκάλιον] (8). One so-called *teacher of piety and leader of salvation* [διδάσκαλος εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁδηγὸς σωτηρίας] is singled out by the Patriarch as an example of heretic strategy. By using the simile of Matt. 7:15, about “*hiding the wolf in a sheepskin*” [κωδίῳ προβάτου τὸν λύκον ἐνοπορύπτων], Photius portrays Sergius as a pseudo-prophet. In order to “take the sting out” of his dissolute deeds and sacrilegious tenets, Sergius made them less revulsive by *pruning* his filth, *covering up* his licentiousness, *toning down* his profanities, or *blending* the intolerable with the tolerable [περικόπτων / ἐπικαλύπτων / συστέλλων / καταμιγνύν] (110).

In several places the heretics' involvement in propaganda and indoctrination is expressed by the old simile of “the weeds sown among the wheat” (Matt. 13:25). The very terms of the passage in St. Matthew are echoed in a reference to early Paulician activity: disciples of Manes *sowed the weed of the devil* [τὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ ζιζάνια ἐγκατέσπειραν] (55). — According to the Patriarch, an Armenian apostate, upon arriving in the area of his activity, *devoted himself to sowing impiety* [σπείρων ἐσπούδαζε τὴν ἀσέβειαν] (72). — And one of the villages *received in its womb the seeds of impiety* [τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐνεκυμόνησε σπέρματα] (3).

(b) *The Misguided.* The human beings who succumb easily to the lure of the missionaries are seen from various angles. One view is expressed through words of folksy psychology: the leaders corrupt the *souls of men* [ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων] (84); and the *deceived* [οἱ ἡπατημένοι] (97) are rather *slow-witted* [νωθέστεροι] (52). Another perception of the victims is couched in sociological terms: they are, essentially, *the people* [ὁ λαός] (143) and *the natives* [οἱ ἐγχώριοι] (64) defined by their habitat, such as a *small town* [κώμη / πολίχνη / πολίχνιον] or a *village* [χωρίον] (3, 13), or by their education, such as *the fairly ignorant* [οἱ ἀπλούστεροι] (115). One of the leaders-to-be, when brought around as a young man, was still *of the common herd and boorish* [τῶν ἀγελαίων . . . καὶ ἀγροίκων] (106). Even an Orthodox missionary sent out to spread his creed among the Paulicians turned out to be so *ignorant* [ἀμαθής] of the true dogma, *light-minded* [τὰς φρένας κοῦφος], and *easy to lead astray* [εὐπαράγωγος] that he succumbed to their pernicious superstition (68).

And the Patriarch scoffs at the blind admiration which precisely the simple people feel toward their seducers. The verbs he uses mark their heresy as a cult in itself. Today's children of the Manichaeans *deify and honor* [θειάζουσι καὶ περιέπουσιν] Constantine (the early Paulician leader) to the highest degree, and they *worship* [γεραίρουσι] his successors like the Apostles of Christ, to say the least (62). —When the heretics split, some of them *deify* [θεοποιοῦσι] Baanes, and the others Sergius (11). —The *wretched* [τάλανες] disciples of Sergius carry matters so far as to *seal their prayers in his name* [ἐν τῷ ὄνόματι αὐτοῦ τὰς ιδίας προσευχὰς . . . ἐπισφραγίζουσιν]. The Patriarch calls these prayers “*barkings*” [ὑλακάς] (117).

(c) *Into the Abyss.* The Patriarch's vision of the fate destined for the misled is apocalyptic. The dire predictions which run through the Διήγησις point to the impact of apostasy on the gullible. Among the verbs picturing that effect the basic meaning “drag” is dominant, which locates the victims' guilt in their lack of resistance. One of the leaders is described as *pulling down* [κατασύρων] the ones who trusted in him, into the pit of perdition (90). —Another found people, *whom he attracted to himself so as to trust him* [οὓς εἴλκυσε πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ] (63). —A third one is quite skillful in *drawing the souls of men* [ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων συνελκύσαι] to their perdition (96). —The same leader *hurled* [κατεκρήμνισεν] many into the abyss of utter perdition, who, in their *lack of awareness* [ἀπροόπτως], were *swallowed up* [καταποθέντες] by him (110). —One of the seducers' successes is, finally, described in the language of warfare: *dragging many off as booty, away from orthodoxy* [πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας συλαγωγήσας] (70).

6. *Summary.* In an analysis focused on the key words of a movement, the text from which these are abstracted “creates” its own linguistic field and in the case at hand the text is an *Orthodox* treatise directed against a sect and

assessing it as *heretical*. "Heresy," in short, evolves as the hyperonym of the field. With that generic concept in the negative, the field turns into a unified structure of negative ideology: the hyperonym transmits the negativism to its constituents, the key concepts; and these transfer it to the broadly synonymous lexemes, which actually express the "values." The effect is what Antonio Gramsci, the Italian linguist, called "a single cultural climate."³⁷

But the Patriarch's negative language vilifying the Paulician heresy, which he usually labels "apostasy," conceals a word portrait exalting orthodoxy. The negative values insinuate their positive correlates: "*they lie*" implies that "*we speak the truth*." This function of the underlying antonymy underpins the exegesis, proffered by Thomas Aquinas, of the Pauline maxim (1 Cor. 11:19), δεῖ καὶ αἰρέσεις εἶναι "there must also be heresies": that orthodoxy is brought into relief if it is seen against its counterpoint, heresy.³⁸

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³⁷ H. and R. Kahane (above, note 1), 152.

³⁸ Cf. H. Grundmann, "Oportet et haereses esse: Das Problem der Ketzerei im Spiegel der mittelalterlichen Bibellexegese" (1963), repr. in *op. cit.* (above, note 36), p. 361.

Grammar and Rhetoric in Euthymius Zigabenus' Commentary on *Psalms* 1–50

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The *Commentary on Psalms* of Euthymius Zigabenus was first published in the West in Venice, in 1763, by A. Bongiovanni, together with a translation (of sorts) by Saul, the bishop of Brugnato.¹ Zigabenus' skill as a commentator was recognized by Vossius (1661) and admired by Père Simon before the Venice edition,² and evidently was also admired by Nicephorus Blemnydes, who seems to have borrowed rather extensively from Zigabenus in his commentaries on *Psalms*.³ Zigabenus' work is, in any event, one of the few complete commentaries on *Psalms* which survive from the Byzantine exegetical tradition.

The merits of Zigabenus' commentary were noted by Martin Jugie in a brief article he published in 1912, substantially repeating the judgment of Krumbacher.⁴ Both indicate that Zigabenus' principal sources are to be found in Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, and Hesychius of Jerusalem.⁵ True as that may be in broad "doctrinal" terms (Zigabenus' occasional references to the anagogic sense of a phrase or verse are consistent with those used by these predecessors), there is an important aspect of Zigabenus' exegetical practice which cannot be derived from these

¹ This is the text published in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 128. On the publishing history, see Martin Jugie, art. "Euthymius Zigabène," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 5, col. 1580.

² R. Simon, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament* (1693), p. 409; I. Vossius, *De septuaginta interpretibus* (1661), p. 67.

³ I have examined this question in "Blemnydes' Debt to Euthymios Zigabenos," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 26 (1985), 303–09.

⁴ See M. Jugie, "La vie et les œuvres d'Euthyme Zigabène," *Échos d'Orient* 15 (1912), 215–25; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur* (1897), p. 83.

⁵ Jugie, "La vie," 220; Krumbacher, *loc. cit.*

"principal sources" and which, to my knowledge, has never been noted, explored, or explained. I refer to the frequent clarification Zigabenus is able to bring to the text as a result of his grammatical and rhetorical observations, examples of which I have gathered from his comments on *Psalms* 1–50. Some recognition of this aspect of his work is in order, since it is so crucial to his exegesis. His use of grammar and rhetoric raises, as well, important questions about the nature of the "tradition" behind his commentary, and the setting in which it was composed.⁶

I

1. *Grammar*

(a) Syntactical observations. On two dozen occasions or so, Zigabenus makes observations on syntactical problems in the Greek: e.g., *ad 22:4, 305A*:

ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ σύνταξις οὕτως, "Αὐταί με παρεκάλεσαν, ἡ ράβδος σου καὶ ἡ βακτηρία σου." "παρεκάλεσαν" ἀντὶ τοῦ "ἐνουθέτησαν." ὁ γὰρ νουθετῶν, παρακαλεῖ καὶ ἔλκει πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον....

Compare *ad 16:4, 216A; 26:3, 321A; 28:5, 333D; 28:6, 336A; 28:9, 337A; 31:8, 364D*,⁷ all of which are equally elementary. In addition to these, Zigabenus' observations sometimes focus on apparent pleonasm: e.g., *ad 35:2, 405CD*:

τὸ "φησὶν" ἀντὶ τοῦ "οἴεται," νοήσεις· καὶ τὸ "τοῦ" περιττόν· ἵν' ἢ τοιοῦτος ὁ νοῦς, οἴεται ὁ παράνομος ἀμαρτάνειν . . . τουτέστιν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ συνειδήσει λεληθότως ὡς μηδὲν τοῦ θεοῦ βλέποντος....

Compare *ad 36:22, 421B; 34:24, 404A; 36:25, 421D; 37:11, 433C; 38:7, 444A*.⁸ These observations coordinate with others which we will see later on the general subject of the difficulties caused by apparent pleonasm.

(b) "Hebraisms." Sometimes syntactical problems arise, Zigabenus teaches, from the persistence of Hebrew "idiom" in the LXX translation. Cf., e.g., *ad 24:6*:

⁶ I have used the less than perfect text in Migne, limiting my observations to the first fifty *Psalms*. Nothing Zigabenus does later alters the general picture we get from his comments on 1–50.

⁷ See also *ad 17:26, καὶ ἔστι τὸ σχῆμα, ὄνομα ἀντὶ μετοχῆς, "ὅσιος"* ἀντὶ τοῦ "ὅσιῶν"; 24:6; 24:8; 34:1; 34:14; 36:1; 37:11 (noting a pleonasm); 38:6; 41:6; 43:4; 44:6; 49:19.

⁸ See also *ad 4:4, 93C; 24:11, 309B* (involves Hebraism); 39:9, 453B; 39:13, 456D; 40:9, 465A; 43:22, 485C (in the midst of a series of observations on periphrasis).

τὰ “ἐλέη” δὲ ἀδιαφόρως κατὰ αἰτιατικὴν πτῶσιν τεθείκασιν οἱ ἐρμηνεῖς, ἡ ὡς καὶ τῆς Ἐβραΐδος λέξεως ἐκείνης τοιαύτην ἔχουσσης πτῶσιν,

and *ad* 41:5, 469B:

χρὴ δὲ καθόλου γιγνώσκειν, ὡς ἡ τῶν Ἐβραίων διάλεκτος, ἀδιαφόρως ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, ταῖς συντάξεσι κέχρηται, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν, “ἐπ’ ἐμὲ” εἰπούσα ἀντὶ τοῦ “ἐν ἐμοί.”

See also *ad* 24:11, 309B; 38:6, 441D; 41:5, 469B; 50:21, 560D (explains enallagē of tense). “Hebraism” also explains, for instance, why the plural is sometimes found instead of the singular: e.g., 2:1–2, 80D; 8:4, 133A; 9:11, 145D; 15:6, 200C; 18:2, 252A; 47:3, 520B; or explains instances of *periphrasis*: *ad* 4:3, 93B; 8:5, 133D, and so on.⁹ Often the sense of the Greek is clear only when one knows the Hebrew “idiom,” as at, for example, 9:28, 157C; 30:3, 348BC; 30:11, 352C.¹⁰ Most of what Zigabenus knew of Hebrew, presumably, was received information.

2. Schemes and Tropes

Zigabenus frequently identifies and explains the Psalmist's use of schemes and tropes.

(a) κατάχρησις: *ad* 7:3, 117A:

καταχρηστικωτέρα δὲ τῆς “ἀρπαγῆς” ἡ λέξις, ἐντεῦθεν δηλούσσης ἀφαίρεσιν,

and *ad* 8:8, 136C; and 48:9 f., 529C:

τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ “ζήσεται εἰς τέλος,” ζωὴν δὲ λέγει τὴν κυρίως καὶ ἀπονον· ἡ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καταχρηστικῶς, ὡς παραδίδοται,

the last words of which also indicate received tradition.

(b) βραχυλογία: *ad* 26:3, 321A; 28:9, 337A; 34:24, 404A; and, of particular interest, *ad* 11:7:

λογία δὲ εἶπεν, οὐ καθ' ὑποκρισμὸν εὔτελείας, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς χρησμοὺς λογία [i.e., oracles] ἐκάλουν διὰ τὴν βραχυλογίαν αὐτῶν. ἐν ὄλιγαις γὰρ λέξεσι, μεγάλην δύναμιν ἐννοίας ἐμπεριεῖχον.

⁹ Also, *ad* 19:1, 265A; 24:5, 305C; 24:11, 390C; 37:8, 443A; 38:7, 444B; 39:2, 448D; 41:5, 469B; 47:3, 520B.

¹⁰ See also 39:2, 448D; 7 Prol., 113D; 9:28, 157C; 9:6, 144B; 9:11, 145D f.

Zigabenus, in short, makes clear what he sees as David's rhetorical aim here. We shall see more of this below.

(c) ἐκ παραλλήλου: At *ad 43:4, 480C*, Zigabenus is able to settle a dispute by reference to this *schema*:

(ἀλλ' ἡ δεξιά σου, καὶ ὁ βραχίων σου) τινὲς δεξιὰν μὲν, λέγοντες τὴν βοήθειαν· τινὲς δὲ, τὴν δύναμιν. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ἄμφω τὴν δύναμιν σημαίνειν ἐκ παραλλήλου.

See also *ad 8:5, 133D; 36:8, 416C; 38:13, 448A*.

(d) πλεονασμός: Zigabenus notes several instances of figurative *pleonasmos* (as recognized and defined by the authors of the rhetorical handbooks)¹¹ particularly as achieved by ἐπίτασις, ἀναδίπλωσις, περίφρασις, and ὑπερβατόν.

1. ἐπίτασις:¹² 2:12, 88AB; 6:7, IIIB; 9:6, 144B (τὸ “εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος,” ἐπίτασις, ἀντὶ τοῦ μέχρι παντός); 39:1, 448D (οἱ “ὑπομένων ὑπέμεινα,” ὁ τοιοῦτος διπλασιασμὸς, συνήθης μὲν τοῖς Ἐβραίοις· ἔστι δὲ ἐμφαντικὸς ἐπιτάσσεως, ὡς τὸ “ἰδὼν ἵδον” καὶ “γιγνώσκων γνώσῃ”). See also *ad 48:2, 525BC*.

2. ἀναδίπλωσις:¹³ We see an example at 39:2, cited just above; but see also *ad 1:4, 77C; 21:5, 277B* (*emphasis* noted there, too); 23:8, 301B; 34:21, 401B (τὸ “εὐγε,” παλαιὸν ἦν ἐπιφώνημα τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων οὖν ὡνόητο διὰ τοῦ διπλασιασμοῦ τὴν ἄγαν ἡδονὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐμφαίνον); 49:7, 541D (see below, p. 270, section I. 3).

3. περίφρασις:¹⁴ Cf., e.g., *ad 4:3, 93B* (mentioned above under “Hebraisms”); 5:13, 108A (“νίὸν” γάρ καλεῖ “δυνάμεως” τὸν δυνατὸν, καὶ “ἄνδρα αἰμάτων” τὸν φονικὸν); 7:6, 120B; 10:1, 165B; 16:13, 213B (. . . ἦ, τῶν πολεμούντων “τῇ χειρὶ σου,” δηλαδὴ “σοι,” περιφραστικῶς); 28:2, 332D; 32:21, 380A;

¹¹ Phoebammon, π. σχ. 8.498 f. Walz, lists eleven kinds of pleonasm: ταυτολογία, ἀναδίπλωσις, ἐπαναφορά, ἐπάνοδος, ἐπανάληψις, περίφρασις, ἐπίφρασις, παρονομασία, ἐπεξήγησις, ἐπιμονή, and ἐπίτασις. This tradition goes back at least to the second century (cf. Tryphon and Tiberios on *schemata*) and carries on through the later Greek Middle Ages.

¹² Cf., e.g., Phoebammon 8.501W: ἐπίτασις is an ἐπιμονῆς εἶδος οὐκ ἐπίσης δὲ δηλοῦν τὸ πρᾶγμα. Compare John Sikeliotes *In Herm. de ideis* 6.56 ff. W; “Phoebammon,” *In Herm. de ideis*, Rabe *Prolegomenon Sylloge* 377.17, 378.5.

¹³ Cf. Alexander 8.462W; Phoebammon 8.499W; Zonaios 8.682W; Anon. 8.707W.

¹⁴ See Phoebammon 8.500W (achieves μεγαλοπρεπεία); Zonaios 8. 689W; Tryphon 8.742W (περίφρασις . . . πλειόστη λέξεστ παριστάνουσα μετ' αὐξήσεως τὸ ὑποκείμενον πρᾶγμα); Gregory of Corinth 8.771W (διὰ πλειόνων αὐτὸν τὸ κύριον δηλοῦσα, πρὸς αὐξῆσιν τοῦ σηματινομένου).

34:12, 397B; 37:4, 429C (τὸ “ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς ὄργῆς σου,” καὶ “ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν μου,” καὶ “ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς ὀφροσύνης μου,” καὶ τοιαῦτα, κατὰ περίφρασιν εἴρηται, ἀντὶ τοῦ “διὰ τὴν ὄργήν σου” . . .).¹⁵

4. ὑπερβατόν:¹⁶ *ad* 13:1, 181C (νοοῦτο δ’ ἀν καθ’ ὑπερβατὸν ὁ στίχος, ὅτι “διεφθάρησαν” ἐν ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ ἐβδελύχθησαν); 39:5, 449CD:

ἔστι δὲ ἡ τοῦ παρόντος ῥῆτον σύνταξις οὕτως· “μακάριος, οὗ αὐτοῦ ἔστι τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ἐλπίς.” δυνάμεθα δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τοῦτο νοῆσαι περὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, καθ’ ὑπερβατὸν συντάττοντες οὕτως· “μακάριος, οὗ ἔστιν ἐλπὶς τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου αὐτοῦ”. παντὶ δὲ Χριστιανῷ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔστιν ἐλπὶς καὶ σωτηρία.

Cf. also *ad* 44:6, 493A.

(e) μεταφορά:¹⁷ Zigabenus frequently notes those passages where he thinks David is expressing himself “metaphorically,” a term which covers a wide range of expressions. Cf., e.g., *ad* 2:12, 88AB (see under *epitasis* above); 16:7, 209D:

έτεραν εἰκόνα φυλακῆς εύρων . . . ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ταῖς ἔαυτῶν πτέρυξι σκεπόντων τοὺς νεοττοὺς πετεινῶν . . .;

22:2, 292C; 44:7, 493C (“ὁ θρόνος” βασιλείας ὣν σύμβολον, τὴν βασιλείαν αἰνίττεται); 48:5, 528B.¹⁸ We might include here two instances of synecdoche (not explicitly identified as such by Z.): *ad* 21:5, 281B (“κοιλίαν” δὲ λέγει νῦν, τὸ κοῦλον ὄλον τοῦ σώματος) and 50:10, 556B (ἀπὸ μέρους δὲ, τῶν ὄστῶν, ὄλον ἔαυτὸν ἐνέφηνε).

(f) ἐρώτησις:¹⁹ Cf. *ad* 14:1, 189B (λοιπὸν οὖν ἀνακτέον τὰ ῥητά· σχηματίζει τὸν λόγον ὁ Δαβὶδ εἰς ἐρώτησιν . . .); 14:2, 189D (τοῦτο τῆς ἐρωτήσεως ἡ ἀπόκρισις, ὡς ἔκεινος παροικήσει); 18:4, 252D; 23:3, 300A (δι’ ἐρώτησιν σχηματίσας ὁ Προφήτης τὸ πρόλαβὸν ῥῆτὸν).²⁰

¹⁵ See also *ad* 8:5, 133D (Hebraism); 26:11 f., 325AB; 28:3, 333B (ἰδίωμα . . . τῆς παλαιᾶς); 37:13, 436A; 41:6, 472A; 43:21, 485BC; 43:25, 448A.

¹⁶ Cf., e.g., Tiberios, π. σχ. 8.561W; Phoebammon 8.501W; Zonaios 8.689W; Anon., 8.713W.

¹⁷ Cf. Tryphon 8.729W (λέξις μεταφερομένη ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ κύριον, ἐμφάσεως ἡ ὁμοιώσεως ἔνεκα; cf. Anon. 8.715W and Choiroboskos 8.804W).

¹⁸ See also *ad* 6:18, 129A; 8:5, 133C; 16:13, 213A; 26:5, 321D; 27:1, 328A; 40:9, 465B; 45:7, 509C; 46:2, 513B.

¹⁹ Cf., e.g., Phoebammon 8.496W; Herodian 8.597W (ἐρώτησίς ἔστι λόγος ἐν ὑποκρίσει λεγόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ σαφέστερον γνῶναι τι τῶν ἐπιζητούμενων). Also, Anon., π. σχ. 8.632W.

²⁰ See also *ad* 38:8, 445A; 40:9, 465A; 48:5, 528C; 48:8, 529A.

(g) πρόσωπον / προσωποποιία:²¹ Cf. *ad* 13:7, 188A; 26:8, 324C (πρόσωπον δὲ τοῦ Δαβὶδ αὐτὸς ὁ Δαβὶδ, κατὰ περιφρασιν); 49:3, 541A (σκόπει δὲ ὅτι καὶ Μωυσῆς εἰσαγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν μάρτυρας τῶν συνθηκῶν παρέλαβεν . . . ἔστι δὲ τὸ σχῆμα προσωποποιία, ὅτι τοῖς ἀψύχοις ἐμψύχων σώματα περιτίθεμεν).

(h) ἔμφασις;²² Forceful expression (including that which, in English, “emphasizes”) and allusive or connotative expression (where *emphasis* comes close to *ainigma*) are both results of many of the schemata we have seen in Zigabenus’ commentaries on the text. See, e.g., *ad* 9:30, 160C:

ἐξηγεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ὅτι ἑλκυσμός ἔστι, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐπαναλήψεως τοῦ ὄνοματος ἀρπαγῆς, ἔμφαίνει σχετλιασμόν. ἦ καὶ διὰ τῆς συνεχείας τῶν παθητικῶν ρήμάτων, διεγέίρει τὸν θεὸν εἰς ἄμυσον.

Also, *ad* 17:4, 221B:

τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν, ἀνακυκλοῖ τὸν λόγον καὶ καταλέγει τοὺς ποικίλους αὐτοῦ κινδύνους, καὶ τὰς πολυειδεῖς ἐπικουρίας τοῦ θεοῦ. τροπικώτερον δὲ τῇ διηγήσει πρὸς πλείονα τῶν πραγμάτων ἔμφασιν.

And cf. *ad* 18:4, 253B; 21:5, 277B; 24:4, 305A; 27:1, 325D; 27:4, 328D (ταυτολογία); 28:1, 322B (ἀναδίπλωσις); 36:14, 417D; 41:3, 468D (ἥ λέξις ἔμφαίνει); 44:2, 489A; 45:9, 512BC. Some of these we shall see later.

3. Rhetoric/Audience

Zigabenus’ readings frequently go beyond the traditional “grammatical” identification of odd expressions and standard schemes and tropes as they appear in the text. On more than two dozen occasions in his remarks on the first fifty *Psalms* he explains the rhetorical function of a given expression, namely, the intended rhetorical effect on the audience. See, for example, *ad* 7:14, 125AB, which I quote *in extenso*:

χρὴ δὲ γιγνώσκειν, ὡς εἰ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα τὰ ρήματα, ἀλλὰ θεοπρεπή τὰ νοήματα· καὶ παρέλαβε τὴν παχύτητα τῶν λέξεων, ὥστε τῆς τῶν ἀκροατῶν παχύτητος καθικέσθαι.

²¹ Cf. Phoebammon 8.509W; Choiroboskos 8.816W (who cites *Ps.* 19:1 as an example); and Anon., περὶ ποιητικῶν τρ., 8.722W (ἥ τοῖς ἀψύχοις πρόσωπον προτιθέσα καὶ λόγους αὐτοῖς ἀρμοδίους προσάπτουσα; with which Zigabenus *ad* 49:3, quoted below, should be compared).

²² Cf. Tiberios, π. τρ. 8.543W (ὅταν μὴ αὐτὸς τις λέγῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλὰ δι’ ἑτέρων ἔμφαίνῃ); Planudes, σχ. εἰς Ἰδεῶν, 5.479 f. W.

διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ῥόμφαιάν εἰσάγει τὸν θεὸν ἔχοντα, καὶ τόξον, καὶ βέλη, καὶ σκεύη πολεμικά, καὶ στιλβοῦντα, καὶ ἐντείνοντα, ἵνα τὸν φόβον τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς ἀπὸ τούτων αὐξήσῃ, καὶ διὰ τῶν συντρόφων ὄνομάτων κατασείσῃ τὴν λιθίνην αὐτῶν διάνοιαν. . . .

Zigabenus' comments *ad 16:12, 212D* are also worth noting:

οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει ταύτῳ καὶ ἅμφω δηλοῦν· εἴωθε γὰρ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς παθητικοῖς λόγοις ὁ Προφήτης ταυτολογεῖν, ἐν ὑπαλλαγαῖς λέξεως, ἵνα αὐξήσῃ τὸ πάθος, εἰς ἔλεον ἐπισπάσηται.

See also *ad 24:4, 305A*:

τὸ αὐτὸν δι’ ἀμφοτέρων λέγει τῶν ὅητῶν, ὡς εἴωθε ποιεῖν ἐν πολλοῖς, ἐμφαίνων τὴν τάσιν . . . τῆς καρδίας.

31:8, 364D:

εἰρήκαμεν δὲ πολλάκις, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων διαθέσεων ἡ γραφὴ σχηματίζει τὰ θεῖα, συνκαταβαίνουσα τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ τῶν ἀκροωμένων.

36:8, 416D:

ὅρα δὲ ὅπως ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸ “μὴ παραζήλου,” δύσφρασιν τέθεικε. παρακατιὼν δὲ, σαφέστερον αὐτὸν προστέθηκε· νῦν δὲ τέλεον αὐτὸν ἐσφήνισεν πολλάκις δὲ, τὰ αὐτὰ λέγει, καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω στρέφει, βεβαίαν τὴν διδασκαλίαν ταῖς τῶν ἀκροατῶν ψυχαῖς ἐναπεργάσασθαι διὰ τῆς συνεχείας. . . .

49:7, 541D:

ἐδιπλασίασε δὴ τὸ “ὁ θεὸς” εἰς διασυρμὸν τῆς ἀναισθησίας καὶ παχύτητος τῶν ἀκοῶν αὐτῶν.

Cf. also *ad 21:5, 277B; 23:8, 301C; 36:14, 417D; 36:25, 424A; 36:30, 425A; 36:34, 428A; 48:2, 525BC; 49:1, 527C*.

II

It is clear from this brief conspectus that Zigabenus has a good deal to say in his Commentary on grammatical and rhetorical matters. His observations are scattered, uneven, and unsystematic, however. On *Psalms* 12, 20, and 29, for instance, he has no such observations to make; on 24 and 38, a great many. While there is no system, his choice of difficulties to focus on is not random, nor are his observations unconnected with one another. Zigabenus concentrates on difficulties which might arise over

Hebraisms embedded in the LXX text,²³ on difficulties a reader might encounter in construing the Greek of *Psalms*, and on David's use of figurative language.

The point of most of the comments on passages which contain Hebraisms is usually that the troublesome Greek expressions are "normal" in Hebrew, or at least normal in the Hebrew style of the authors of Hebrew sacred scripture. As for the grammatical questions, it is remarkable how elementary most of the problems addressed are. It is not hard to imagine a student having trouble when he encountered a phrase which is proper in Hebrew but unusual in Greek; but it is often hard to see where any difficulty might have arisen over the text at, for example, 22:4, 293B; 16:4, 216A, or in most of the passages whose syntax Euthymius calls *adiaphoros*. All in all, the "problems" are quite elementary.

Somewhat less elementary are problems which arise in passages where one expected verbal form is substituted for another (as at, e.g., 17:26, 237C, interestingly described as τὸ σχῆμα, ὄνομα ἀντὶ μετοχῆς) or where pleonasm is encountered (as in those cases where a word is considered περιττός, e.g. *ad* 34:24, 404A; 35:2, 405C; 38:7, 444A; 43:22, 485C). Zigabenus' observations on those passages which exhibit ἐπίτασις (e.g. 2:12, 88AB; 9:6, 144B; 34:4, 393C), περίφρασις (e.g. 7:6, 120B; 10:1, 165B; 26:11 f., 325AB), ἀναδίπλωσις (see *ad* 21:5, 277B; 23:8, 301A; 34:21, 401B), or ὑπερβατόν (e.g. 39:5, 449CD; 44:6, 493A, cited there along with περίφρασις) are similarly addressed to difficulties a student might have in recognizing deliberate *pleonasmos*. All of these *schemata*, it will be recalled, are associated with *pleonasmos* in the handbook tradition.²⁴

In that tradition, pleonasm is used by speakers and writers to achieve such effects as vividness, clarity and emphasis.²⁵ So too the other tropes and figures noted by Zigabenus: ἔρωτησις, προσωποποία, synecdoche, and, above all, metaphor. It is these figures and tropes, it seems, that sum up what might be called David's style.²⁶

But style is not merely a grammatical thing. Style, the Byzantines knew as well as the Ancients, has ends for which it is employed. Style, in short, is not just a matter of concern for grammar; it is rhetorical. It is in this way that Zigabenus' observations on audience, which we noted before, become noteworthy; and it is in those observations that one of the main

²³ Zigabenus, of course, almost certainly knew no Hebrew. Such information appears in the various *catenae*, however.

²⁴ "Pleonasm" is a shifting concept in the tradition. It is counted as a *schema* by Alexander (8.421 f. W), Tiberios (8.527W), Zonaios (8.673W), and Phoebammon (8.497 f. W); a trope by Tryphon (8.726W) and Gregory of Corinth (8.761 f. W); and as a mere πάθος of λέξις (cf. Apollonius Dyskolos, *De syntaxi* [Uhlig-Schneider: Leipzig 1878-1910], I. ii. 149, 267, etc.; Manuel Moschopoulos, *Opusc. Gram.* [ed. Titze: Leipzig / Prague 1822], pp. 27 ff.).

²⁵ Cf., e.g., Tiberios 8.563W; Phoebammon 8.501 ff. W; Gregory of Corinth 8.771W.

²⁶ Or perhaps, more generally, the "prophetic" style.

goals of the commentary is achieved—to clear up whatever obscurities stem from the fact that (*Proleg.*, p. 61D)

διαφόροις γάρ κέχρηται τὸ προφητικὸν ἔθος εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐν πᾶσι· συνεσκιασμένα γάρ τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἀπειθείαν καὶ σκληρότητα.

III

Zigabenus' commentary is unusual in paying so much attention to grammatical and rhetorical questions. No other Byzantine commentary, in fact, contains as much. Very little of it can be found in the "principal sources" Jugie points to; and not much more of it is to be found in those two "Antiochene" exegetes, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus,²⁷ both of whom wrote commentaries with which Zigabenus was evidently familiar.

One must not, of course, confuse familiarity with influence. As it happens, such evidence as we find of Zigabenus' familiarity with Theodore and Diodorus is rather thin. I have been able to discover only the following possible resemblances:

Theodore Mopsuestia

ad 30:3: 'Υπεράσπισον καὶ ἐπάμυνον ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς. Ιδίωμα δὲ τοῦτο Ἐβραϊκόν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπεράσπισον λέγειν γενοῦ μοι εἰς θεὸν ὑπερασπιστήν.

Diodorus of Tarsus

ad 16:8: παραβολικῶς λέγει "τῶν πτερύγων σου" καὶ μεταφορικῶς ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρνεων τῶν τοῖς πτέρυξιν ἀσφαλιζομένων τοὺς νεοττούς.

ad 18:2: εἴωθεν γάρ ἐν πολλοῖς τὸν ἔνα πληθυντικῶς καλεῖν. ιδίωμα δέ ἐστιν Ἐβραϊκόν.

ad 38:7: τὸ πλὴν καὶ τὸ μέντοι γε οὐδεμίαν εἰσφέρει διάνοιαν. ἀπὸ γάρ τοῦ Ἐβραϊκοῦ ἐπισύρεται.

Zigabenus

τὸ "εἰς θεὸν ὑπερασπιστήν" ἀντὶ τοῦ "θεὸς ὑπερασπιστῆς". ιδίωμα γάρ τοῦτο τῆς Παλαιᾶς.

16:7: . . . ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πτέρυξι σκεπόντων τοὺς νεοττούς πετεινῶν.

"οὐρανοὺς" δὲ λέγει τὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ στερέωμα, πληθυντικῷ χαρακτῆρι χρησάμενος ἀντὶ ἐνικοῦ, κατὰ τὴν Ἐβραΐδα διάλεκτον. . . .

τὸ "πλὴν" ἐνταῦθα περιττόν τινες ἐνόμισαν. . . .

²⁷ I have consulted the edition of R. Devresse, *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes*, Studi e testi 93 (Vatican City 1939); and that of J. M. Olivier of Diodorus' *Commentarii in psalmos*, Corpus Christianorum, Series graeca 6 (Louvain 1980).

ad 39:2: ὁ διπλασιασμὸς σημεῖον ἔστιν ἐπιτάσεως . . . "γιγνώσκων γνώση" ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀκριβῶς "γνώθι."

ὁ τοιοῦτος διπλασιασμὸς συνήθης μὲν τοῖς Ἐβραίοις· ἔστι δὲ ἐμφαντικός ἐπιτάσεως, ὡς τὸ "ἰδὼν ἵδον" καὶ "γιγνώσκων γνώση" ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀκριβῶς "γνώση." . . .

ad 48:5: "παραβολὴν" γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸ διήγημα λέγει. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀγίου ἐδιδάχθη καὶ σχηματίζει τὸν λόγον ὥσανεὶ δι' ἀκοῆς μαθὼν τὰ τοιαῦτα παιδεύματα.

λέγει δὲ "παραβολὴν" τὰ αἰνίγματα· καὶ γὰρ αἰνιγματώδη τὰ προφητικά εἰσι, διὰ τὴν ἀσάφειαν τῶν κεκρυμμένων νοημάτων.

As is quite evident, there is little to indicate that Zigabenus was particularly influenced by either Theodore or Diodorus. In fact, while there are some cases where all three comment on the same verse, or even phrase, from *Psalms*, they seldom agree either about what requires comment or, when they agree about that, what the proper interpretation is.²⁸

These comparisons suggest that Zigabenus' commentary stands apart in an important respect from any other exegetical traditions we find in Byzantine commentary. If there was a grammatical-rhetorical tradition he drew upon—and it is hard to believe there was no such tradition—it has been lost.

IV

A few other questions are raised by what we have seen here, none of which is likely ever to be answered satisfactorily. First, for whom did Zigabenus write his commentary? On the basis of the rather elementary nature of the problems—particularly the syntactic ones—he addresses, and in view of the tone and organization of the prolegomena, it seems likely that the commentary was meant for young scholars midway through their grammatical studies. We know that the study of *Psalms* was assigned early in the curriculum, and there certainly were schools in late eleventh-century Constantinople that catered to such a clientele.²⁹

Second, if it is likely that the commentary was produced in a school setting, which school? Nothing I have been able to find gives any hint. There are no internal clues in the commentary itself. There is no mention anywhere in the chronicles or registers of Zigabenus as either a διδάσκαλος

²⁸ Compare, e.g., Diodorus and Zigabenus on 16:12, 39:2, 48:5, 48:10b; and Theodore and Zigabenus on 16:14, 18:6, 15:7. Theodore on 26:6 is almost identical to Diodorus *ad loc.*, but both differ considerably from Zigabenus.

²⁹ Cf. L. Bréhier, "L'enseignement classique et l'enseignement religieux à Byzance," *Revue d'Histoire de Philosophie et Religion* 21 (1941), 49 ff., 65 ff. Unfortunately, no one has yet—for very understandable reasons—done for the eleventh century what Robert Browning did for the twelfth in "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century," *Byzantion* 32 (1962), 167–202; 33 (1963), 11–40.

or a προξιμὸς τῆς σχολῆς in any school known to be in operation in Zigabenus' time, for example, that at the monastery of Theodore Sphorakios or at any other branch (what Browning has called a "college") of the Patriarchal School.³⁰ He was not the Euthymius who is thought to have composed the oration in honor of the girdle of the Virgin in the church of Our Lady of Chalkoprateia, where there was a *didaskaleion*;³¹ nor is our Euthymius the Euthymius associated with the monastery at Peribleptos.³²

On the other hand, it is certain that our Euthymius is the same Euthymius Zigabenus whom Anna Comnena characterizes as γραμματικῆς . . . εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλακότα καὶ ρήτορικῆς οὐκ ἀμελέτητον ὅντα καὶ τὸ δόγμα ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος τις ἐπιστάμενον (*Alexiad* 15. 9), an old friend of the imperial family (she tells us),³³ the μοναχός Euthymius who was commissioned by Alexios I to compose a refutation of "all heresies," and did compose such a treatise, the *Panoplia* which fills PG 130. Alexios' choice must have been based on high recommendation as well, perhaps even on the basis of first-hand acquaintance with his virtues as a commentator.³⁴ Zigabenus was not then a mere teacher, but a monk of impressive learning, a scholar supremely knowledgeable in the arts of interpretation and argumentation who had not succumbed to the temptations of idle *schedographia* or to the charms of unorthodox and pagan philosophies, as so many, in Alexios' view, had done. And a monk like that could have found a place in a monastery such as that of St. George at Mangane, close to the imperial palace and the emperor himself, and possessed of a considerable library.

This is all quite speculative, of course, the sort of speculation we must occasionally turn to in the study of Byzantine grammar, rhetoric and exegesis. What is not a matter of speculation, however, is the fact that Euthymius Zigabenus is extraordinary among the commentators on *Psalms* that are known to us from the Byzantine era. If ever the history of Byzantine exegesis should be written, Zigabenus will be seen to represent an important facet of it.

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³⁰ On such schools and their locations, cf. R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris 1953), pp. 159 ff., on St. Theodore Sphorakios. See also *ibid.* 412 (St. Peter's, where Niketas of Herakleia produced a commentary on Luke); 246 ff. (Theotokos Chalkoprateion), and further Bréhier, 63 ff., Browning, 177 f.

³¹ Cf. Jugie, "La vie" (above, note 4), 223. Jugie points out that the oration attributed to Zigabenus in Vat. gr. 1671 dates from the tenth century or before.

³² Jugie, "Euthymius," col. 1580.

³³ *Alexiad* 15. 9: μοναχὸν τινα Ζυγαβηνὸν καλούμενον, γνωστὸν μὲν τῇ δεσποίνῃ καὶ πρὸς μητρός ἐμῇ μάμη. . . .

³⁴ As is well known, Alexios and his wife were noted for their piety and interest in theological and exegetical matters.

The *Itinerary* of Constantine Manasses

MIROSLAV MARCOVICH

I. The Problem

The Empress Irene died (probably in the winter of 1159), leaving behind two daughters.¹ The Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180) needed a male successor to the throne. Consequently, after much consultation at the court, the emperor decided to send an embassy to Baldwin III, King of Jerusalem (and the emperor's relative through the king's marriage with Theodora, the daughter of Sebastocrator Isaac Comnenus). The embassy was headed by the emperor's cousin, the general Sebastus John Contostephanus (who had already met Baldwin), and by Theophilactus the Excubitor, a clever diplomat of Italian descent.² In his turn, John Contostephanus invited the poet Constantine Manasses, then about thirty years of age, to join the embassy.³

The delegation left Constantinople sometime during the summer of 1160 and safely reached Jerusalem. The emperor's χρυσόβουλον delivered to King Baldwin III read in part:

Nos autem de imperii successione solliciti et melioris sexus sobolem non habentes, de secundis votis cum illustribus sacri palatii diligentem saepius habuimus tractatum. Tandem de universorum principum favore et consensu placuit, ut de sanguine tuo, quem unice diligit nostrum imperium, nobis in consortium jungamus imperii; et utram consobrinarum tuarum—seu illustris viri comitis Tripolitani sororem, seu magnifici viri principis Antiocheni germanam juniores nobis elegeris,—nos pro tua optione, sinceritati tuae omnem fidem habentes, eam nobis in tori sociam et imperii participem, auctore Domino, assumemus.⁴

¹ Cinnamus, *Hist.* 5. 1 (p. 202 Meineke); Manasses, *Itin.* 1. 132–36.

² Cinn. 5. 4 (p. 208); William Archibishop of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* 18.30 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 201, p. 743 B).

³ Manasses, *Itin.* 1. 14–17 and 1. 65–67.

⁴ William of Tyre 18. 30 (p. 743 BC).

This means that Manuel had left Baldwin to choose between *Millicent* (Mélisende, Milisendis, Melusine), the daughter of Hodierna (the dowager countess of Jerusalem) and sister of Raymond III, Count of Tripoli; and *Mary*, the younger daughter of Constance and her late husband, Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch. Political considerations decided Baldwin in favor of Millicent, and the Byzantine embassy left Jerusalem for Tripoli to meet Raymond III and Hodierna.⁵

At Tripoli, the preparations for the wedding had already reached an advanced stage, and Count Raymond had already equipped twelve galleys to take the bride to Constantinople, when the Greek delegation began to procrastinate, thus delaying the official betrothal. As late as 31 July 1161, that is, about one year after the arrival of the embassy, in an official document issued by King Baldwin III at Nazareth, we read that Millicent was referred to as *futura imperatrix Constantinopolitana*.⁶ Something must have happened in Constantinople.

Cinnamus says that Millicent had suddenly become gravely ill (p. 209, *vόσοι βαρεῖαι τῇ κόρῃ ἐνέσκηπτον*), and that this was the reason for her repudiation. But he also adds that there were rumors about the bride's being an illegitimate child (p. 210, *ώς εἴη γάμων οὐκ ἐκ νομίμων ἡ κόρη φυεῖσα*). However, Constantine Manasses (*Itinerary* 4. 46–55) and William of Tyre (18. 31) know nothing of the kind, and the latter is likely to be closer to the truth when stating (18. 31, p. 744 B):

Interea, dum Graeci singula ad unguem perscrutantur et rimantur interius de moribus puellae [i.e. Milisendis], de occultarum corporis partium dispositione, dum nuntios frequentes ad imperatorem dirigunt et eorum praestolantur recursum, annus effluxit.

The fact was that meanwhile Manuel had changed his mind and decided to marry Mary of Antioch, with the intention of bringing the Principate of Antioch closer to his side in the imminent war against the Seljuk Turks.⁷ But King Baldwin III learned the full truth only after sending a special envoy (Otto of Risberge) to Manuel in Constantinople,⁸ and after paying a personal visit to Antioch in the summer of 1161. There the king found another Byzantine embassy, headed by Basil Camaterus.⁹

In brief, the official betrothal of Mary took place in Antioch where Manuel was represented by Magnus Dux Alexius, the grandson of the Emperor Alexius I, by Sebastus Nicephorus Bryennius, and by Sebastus

⁵ *Idem*, 18. 31. Compare René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume franc de Jérusalem*, II (Paris 1935), pp. 428–32.

⁶ Cf. Reinhold Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (1097–1291)* (Oeniponti 1893), No. 366 (p. 96 f.).

⁷ Compare, e.g., Ferdinand Chalandon, "The Later Comneni," in *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV (1923), p. 375.

⁸ William of Tyre 18. 31 (p. 744 C).

⁹ Cinnamus 5. 4 (p. 210); slightly differently William of Tyre 18. 31 (p. 745 A).

Andronicus Camaterus. Finally, the marriage rite was performed by no less than three patriarchs (of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch), in Hagia Sophia on 25 December 1161 (that is, two years after the death of Irene).¹⁰

For his part, in revenge for the humiliation of his sister, Raymond III, Count of Tripoli, delivered the twelve galleys to the pirates, instructing them to burn and plunder Byzantine coastal cities and islands without any compunction:

Et vocatis piratis et nefandorum scelerum artificibus eas [sc. galeas] tradit [sc. Comes Tripolitanus], praecipiens, ut praedicti imperatoris terras obambulantes omnino nec aetati parcerent, nec sexui, et conditionum etiam nullam haberent differentiam; sed passim et sine delectu tam monasteria quam ecclesias omnia traderent incendiis, et rapinas ubique sive homicidia libere perpetrarent, pro justa causa arma et vires illaturi.¹¹

Of course, the Byzantine embassy of John Contostephanus did not wait in Tripoli to witness the rage of Count Raymond, but hurriedly left for Cyprus, where we find them celebrating the Pentecost of 1162. Assisted by the governor of Cyprus, one Alexius Ducas, the embassy then safely reached Constantinople.¹²

So much for the historical background. Now, in his *Itinerary* ('Οδοιπορικόν), the poet Constantine Manasses described the journey of the ill-fated embassy of Contostephanus. The poem consists of 796 dodecasyllabic lines, divided into four Logoi, and is preserved in two manuscripts. The better one, the famous Marcianus 524 (s. XIV),¹³ fol. 94v–96r, contains only *Itin.* 1. 1–269, while the less careful Vaticanus 1881 (s. XIV), fol. 102r–109r, comprises the entire poem (with the omission of 1. 124–212). Konstantin Horna (in 1903), assisted by E. Kurtz, provided a meticulous *editio princeps* of Manasses' *Itinerary*.¹⁴

Since the passage omitted in Vaticanus (1. 124–212) comprises Manasses' *ecphrasis* on the extraordinary beauty of Millicent, Horna correctly concluded that the Vaticanus reflects a later redaction of the poem, most probably made by the poet himself, when Millicent no longer was the prospective bride:

"Wer war nun jener Redaktor? Wahrscheinlich Manasses selbst."

"Wichtiger scheint mir, dass der Autor selbst am ehesten Grund hatte, die

¹⁰ Cinnamus 5. 4 (p. 210 f.); Nicetas Choniata, *Hist.* p. 151 Bekker = p. 115 f. van Dieten (1975).

¹¹ William of Tyre 18. 33 (p. 745 f.). Compare Manasses, *Itin.* 4. 56 ff.; 4. 168 ff.

¹² Manasses, *Itin.* 4. 36 ff.; 4. 96 (Πεντηκοστὴν καλοῦμεν αὐτὴν ἐξ ἔθους); 4. 131–33. William of Tyre is exaggerating (18. 31, p. 744 D): *Porro domini imperatoris nuntii, comitis Tripolitani indignationem formidantes, inventa casu navicula, in Cyprum se fecerunt deportare.* The Byzantine embassy had left Tripoli divided into two groups, and on two successive trips.

¹³ On this codex compare Sp. Lambros, in *Nέος Ελληνομήμων* 8 (1911), 113–92.

¹⁴ "Das Hodoiporikon des Konstantin Manasses," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 13 (1904), 313–55 (text: 325–47).

erwähnten Kürzungen vorzunehmen." "So wurde bereits in Palästina der erste Teil [= Logos 1] ausgearbeitet und auch publiziert, d.h. Freunden und Bekannten in Abschrift mitgeteilt, eine Voreiligkeit, die Manasses wohl bereute, als die Verlobung wieder zurückging. Er entschloss sich daher, die bereits veröffentlichten Teile den geänderten Verhältnissen entsprechend umzuarbeiten und vor allem die nicht mehr zeitgemäße Partie I 124–212 mit der ausführlichen Schilderung der Schönheit Mellisendes zu streichen."¹⁵

Horna goes one step further, however. Since the extant text of Manasses' *Itinerary* displays some omissions and inconsistencies with the account of the events as reported by William of Tyre and Cinnamus, Horna concludes that this is due to a radical revision of the original text of the *Itinerary*, stemming from Manasses himself:

Leider können wir sonst aus dem Hodoiporikon nichts Genaueres erfahren. Es sind nachträglich umfangreiche Auslassungen an dem Werke vorgenommen worden, so dass es schwer, teilweise unmöglich ist, von der Rückkehr der Gesandtschaft ein klares Bild zu gewinnen.¹⁶

Apparently, this verdict pronounced by Horna in 1903 is reflected in a recent criticism of the *Itinerary* by Herbert Hunger (in 1978): "Ein Reisebericht über diese Erlebnisse liegt uns in 794 Zwölfsilbern (4 Bücher) vor, dem es allerdings an einer geschickten Redaktion mangelte."¹⁷

While I agree with Horna that it was most probably Manasses himself who omitted lines 1. 124–212 in a later revision of the poem, I am in strong disagreement with him on two points of some significance.

First, it is unlikely that Manasses had published Logos 1 separately, while still in Palestine, since in lines 1. 207–12 the poet makes a clear allusion to the later troubles caused by the delay of the Byzantine mission:

Ἐγὼ δ' ὁ ταλάντατος ὠνειροσκόπουν
ώς τάχιον βλέψαιμι τὴν Κωνσταντίνου·
ἀλλ' ἀντιπνεύσας κακίας ὁ καικίας
χειμῶνας ἐξήγειρεν ἀελλοπνόους,
τρικυμίας φόβητρα, ναυτίας ζάλας
καὶ βραδυτῆτας καὶ σχολὰς παραλόγους.

210

Secondly, and more importantly, it is not likely that the extant text of the poem represents a *radical revision* of the original poem, or that it lacks a final redaction. Manasses has made a few metrical and stylistic changes, but no more, so that the extant text reflects the poet's *ultima manus*. As I shall try to demonstrate (III. Conclusions), Manasses never intended to produce a systematic *chronicle* of the embassy's journey. In his four Logoi, the poet is *deliberately selective* while concentrating on his own most heartfelt

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, 319.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 317.

¹⁷ *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich 1978), II, p. 161.

experiences, on personal psychological analysis, emotions and reflections. And by so doing he is simply exemplifying the program of the romantic movement of the Comnenian era.

II. The Content of the Poem

Logos 1. The poet had just gained a brief respite from misfortune that allowed him to dedicate himself to the study of Greek literature, when calamity struck again (1–12). Falling asleep with his *Athenaeus* in his hands, he experiences a terrible dream. He sees *Sebastus John Contostephanus* embarking on a naval expedition to Sicily, and dragging the poet into his trireme by force (13–28). A terrible storm endangers the lives of the sailors, but eventually they reach safe harbor (29–47).

Such was the poet's nightmare. But it proved to be a true premonition (48–60). For with the dawn a sad message reached the poet, bidding him "Join the *Sebastus* in his journey to Jerusalem and Palestine" (61–67). The poet's first reaction to this "sting" (68, μύωψ) was a feeling of disbelief and stupefaction (68–75). The description of such a psychological phenomenon finds its match in Manasses' love novel *Aristander et Callitheia* (Fr. 3 and 121 Mazal).¹⁸

The Byzantine embassy leaves Constantinople, passes through Nicaea, Iconium (Konya), several cities in Cilicia, Antioch, Sidon, Tyre, Beirut, the ugly city of Ptolemais (Akko),¹⁹ and reaches the beautiful town of Samaria (Sichem, Neapolis, Nablus) (77–99). In his romantic *ecphrasis* describing Samaria, the poet likens the city, located between two high hills, to a sweet baby between the two breasts of her mother (100–21).

It was in Samaria that the real purpose of the embassy was revealed to its members by John Contostephanus—to arrange a second marriage for the Emperor Manuel (122–49). It just so happened that the prospective bride was sojourning at that very moment in the city. The discreet poet does not reveal her name, but the identity of Millicent is unmistakable (in view of 1. 185 ff. and 4. 44–55). Our poet had the opportunity to see the girl in a dark chapel (153, οικίσκος) of the city and to produce an impressive *ecphrasis* describing her radiant complexion, overwhelming charms and consummate beauty (150–199). It is true that Cinnamus too says that Millicent was a girl of extraordinary beauty (*Λατίνα μὲν γένος, περικαλλῆς δὲ ἐν ταῖς*

¹⁸ Of Manasses' novel only 765 "political lines" have survived. They have been critically edited and reconstructed by Otto Mazal, *Der Roman des Konstantinos Manasses: Überlieferung, Rekonstruktion, Textausgabe der Fragmente* (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, 4 [Vienna 1967]).

¹⁹ Ptolemais is called by our poet παντομίσητος and μυριοφονεύτρια πόλις (1. 92^a; 1. 93–98; 4. 151) because of the pollution and many epidemics caused by the multitude of pilgrims. Compare John Phocas, *Ecphrasis*, etc. (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 133: 933 C); Homa, *op. cit.* (above, note 14), 349.

μάλιστα),²⁰ but the point is that Manasses' description of Millicent is strongly reminiscent of his description of Helen of Troy in his *Chronicle* (1157–1167),²¹ and that it smacks of mannerism.²² While we can understand that the poet was able to grasp the quality of the noble princess, it is amazing to learn that he was capable of forming a judgment about her good education by merely glancing at her in that dark chapel (182–84):

Ἡθος γαληνότητι συγκεκραμένον
καὶ τηλικαύτῃ προσφορώτατον κόρη·
παιδευσις ἀσύγκριτος, εὐγενὲς γένος.

After awhile, the embassy leaves Samaria and reaches Jerusalem, where Baldwin III resided (218–24). Here the poet visits Jesus' tomb (225), Golgotha (230), Mount Zion (239), the house of the apostles (246; cf. John 20:19), the house of Pentecost (252–57; cf. Acts 2:3), the place of Mary's death (258–60), the scene of Peter's repentance (261–63; cf. Matthew 26:75), the Virgin's tomb at Gethsemane (264–74), and, finally, the hill of Jesus' ascension (275–78; cf. Acts 1:9). The poet then visits Bethlehem (279), Jericho (280–87), the River Jordan (288–93), and, on his way back to Tripoli, Nazareth (297) and Capernaum (309).

The refined poet from Constantinople is shocked by the climate of the Holy Places, and asks himself why Jesus chose to appear precisely in such scorched, suffocating, burning and deadly spots as these (294–96; 316–20):

Tí ταῦτα, Χριστέ, φῶς ὑπερχρόνου φάους, πῶς μέχρι πολλοῦ πρὸς τόπους ἀνεστράφης Ἐηρούς, πνιγηρούς, φλεκτικούς, θανασίμους;	295
Tí γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἄξιον λόγου; 'Αὴρ πονηρός, καυματώδης, πυρώδης, ἄτακτος, ἀβέβαιος, οὐκ ἔχων στάσιν· σφοδρὸν τὸ καῦσος, ἀνυπόστατον φέρειν, ἄκρατος ἀὴρ ὑδάτων ἐρημίᾳ.	316 320

And he seems to suggest that Jesus' choice of such places reflects His *salvific* plan (302–04; 311–15):

'Αλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ὡς ἐπίστασαι μόνος (sc. Χριστέ), ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σοῖς σωματικοῖς ἐκλέγη εἴ τι πενιχρόν, εἴ τι τῶν ἀνωνύμων. . .	302
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²⁰ *Hist.* 5. 4 (p. 208).

²¹ Σύνοψις χρονική, p. 51 f. Bekker. (Total, 6733 political lines.)

²² It suffices here to mention that Nicetas Choniates describes the beauty of the winning Mary of Antioch in these terms: "Ὕπ δὲ καλὴ τὸ εἶδος ἡ γυνή, καὶ καλὴ λίαν, καὶ ἔως σφόδρα καλὴ καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἀξύμβλητος, ὡς μῦθον είναι ἀτεχνῶς πρὸς αὐτὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὴν φιλομειδῆ καὶ χρυσῆν, "Ὕραν τὴν λευκώλενον καὶ βοῶπιν, καὶ τὴν δολιχόδειρον καὶ καλλίσφυρον Λάκαιναν, ἃς οἱ πάλαι διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἐθέωσαν, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δὲ ἀπάσας, ὅσας βίβλοι καὶ ιστορίαι διαπρεπεῖς τὴν θέαν παραδεδώκασιν (*Hist.*, p. 151 Bekker = p. 116. 61–66 van Dieten).

Σεπτοὶ μέν εἰ<σι> πάντες οἱ θεῖοι τόποι,
ἐν οἷς ὁ Σωτὴρ σαρκικῶς ἀνεστράφη·
πλὴν εἴπερ ἔξελοι τις ἀνυποστόλως
τῶν δεσποτικῶν θαυμάτων τὸ μυρίπνουν,
σκληραῖς ἀκάνθαις τοὺς τόπους παρεικάσοι. 315

The desolation of Palestine evokes in the poet's mind the contrasting picture of blossoming Constantinople, and he closes Logos 1 with these lines (331-36):

³Ω γῆ Βυζαντίς, ὡς θεόδμητος πόλις,
ἡ καὶ τὸ φῶς δεῖξασα καὶ θρέψασά με,
ἐν σοὶ γενοίμην, καλλονὰς βλέψαιμι σου.
Ναὶ ναί, γενοίμην ὑπὸ τὰς σὰς ἀγκάλας,
ναὶ ναί, γενοίμην ὑπὸ τὴν πτέρυγά σου,
καὶ διατηροίης με καθὰ στρουθίον.

Logos 2. But the poet never reached Tripoli: in Tyre he was struck with severe typhoid fever (1–44). The illness gave him the opportunity to ponder the frailty of the human condition (45–52), another *locus communis* (cf. 3. 14 f.; 3. 46–56) and another encounter with Manasses' novel (frr. 10; 49; 69; 74; 159; 160 Mazal).²³ Seeing the young poet half dead, Sebastus Contostephanus sends him from Tyre to Cyprus to recover (53–65). Alexius Ducas, the governor of Cyprus,²⁴ takes good care of Manasses, who quickly regains his health (66–83).

But now the poet pines while idling in Cyprus, missing his library and yearning for his native Constantinople (84–128). All the attention of Alexius Ducas cannot cure the poet's nostalgia for his homeland (129–52). And he closes Logos 2 in a tone similar to that of the end of Logos 1 (153–58):

⁷Ω γῆ Βυζαντίς, ὡ πόλις τρισολβία,
δόφθαλμὲ τῆς γῆς, κόσμε τῆς οἰκουμένης,
τηλαυγὲς ἀστρον, τοῦ κάτω κόσμου λύχνε,
ἐν σοὶ γενοίμην, κατατρυφήσαιμί σου·
σὺ καὶ περιθάλποις με καὶ διεξάγοις,
καὶ μητρικῶν σῶν ἀγκαλῶν μὴ χωρίσαις.

Logos 3. We find the poet stricken with another illness, this time with rheumatoid arthritis (1–45), which gives him the opportunity for another complaint about man's being but a *roseau* (50, *ἰσχνότης καλαμίνη*) passing away (46–56). The poet is in pain, he cannot move, and has no desire for food or drink (57–70). Finally, dismissing his physicians, he

²³ For example, *Aristander et Callitheas*, fr. 160 Mazal reads:

Ὦς ἄρα βέβαιον οὐδέν, οὐ στάσιμον ἀνθρώποις,
ἀλλὰ καπνὸς τὰ τῶν θυητῶν. ἀλλὰ σκιὰ τὰ πάντα

²⁴ On whom compare Horne, *op. cit.* 350 f.

decides to take a series of warm baths, and that cures him (71–101). The Logos closes with a third nostalgic address to Constantinople (102–06):

Ὥ χρύσεον πόλισμα τῆς Βυζαντίδος,
ἥλιε τῆς γῆς, κάλλος οὐκ ἔχον κόρον,
ἔως πότε βλέψω σε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους;
"Ιδοιμι, παντέραστε, σᾶς στιλβηδόνας,
βλέψαιμι, καλλίφωτε, τὰ πρόσωπά σου.

105

Logos 4. The final chapter of the poem opens in jubilation: the poet, back in his beloved Constantinople, is exulting (1–35). The route home from Tripoli led the embassy to the city of Syce in Cilicia (between Arsinoe and Celenderis). But then the danger of the pirates, encouraged by the Count of Tripoli, forced them to cross over to the safer Cyprus (36–68). John Contostephanus reached Cyprus later on, a fact that was sufficient to cure the poet from an attack of the quartan fever (69–81). The governor of the island, Alexius Ducas, gives everybody rich gifts, and the ill-fated embassy leaves for Constantinople (82–87; 131–33).

The poet feels that now is the proper moment to introduce an amusing anecdote required by the literary genre (89–94):

Οὐδὲν δὲ καινὸν οὐδὲ πόρρω τῆς τέχνης
παρεισενεγκεῖν καὶ γελοῖον τοῖς λόγοις·
τοῖς γὰρ λυπτροῖς καὶ γέμουσι τοῦ πάθους
καὶ χαρίεντα συγκεραννύειν δέον
καὶ ταῖς σκυθρωπαῖς ιστοριογραφίαις
γελωτοεργοὺς παιδιὰς προσεισάγειν.²⁵

90

While attending the mass of Pentecost in a church on Cyprus, the poet was approached by a Cypriot peasant who was both drunk and smelling of garlic. As he could not stand the pungent stinkweed, he warned the peasant twice to move away. Since he ignored the warning, the poet slapped him vigorously in the face, and the sharp noise of the slap strangely blended with the singing of the choir (95–130).

The end of the poem is a hymn of praise addressed to Jesus for saving the poet from deadly Palestine, the arrogant Latins, the prison of Cyprus, and the bloodthirsty pirates (134–94).

III. Conclusions

1. *Chronology.* *Logos 1* was probably written sometime during the fall of 1161, while the poet was recovering in Cyprus. Lines 1. 207–12 (quoted above, p. 280) presuppose the delay of Millicent's betrothal, which had become obvious only in the summer of 1161. I assume that our poet, on his way back from Jerusalem, and after visiting Nazareth (297; 310) and Capernaum (309), had not reached the final destination of the embassy, the

²⁵ προσεισάγειν, *Homa* (323) *metri gratia*: προσαγάγειν *Vaticanus*.

court of Raymond III in Tripoli. Already in Tyre he became ill with typhoid fever (2. 8 ff.), and then was sent by Contostephanus to Cyprus.

Logos 2 was definitely written in Cyprus (84, Καὶ νῦν παροικῶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην Κύπρον: see also 99, 109). The poet became ill in the summer of 1161, in Tyre (cf. 3. 10–11: "Ωιμην τὸ δένδρον τῶν ἐμῶν παθημάτων, Ι κὰν ἐν θέρει τέθηλε, χειμῶνι φθίνειν). In Cyprus he regained his health and joined the embassy in Tripoli (probably in the winter of 1161).

Logos 3 was written in Tripoli (not in Cyprus), for in 4. 36–43 we find the poet leaving Tripoli and reaching Cyprus again. It was in the winter of 1161 (cf. 3. 11) that the poet became ill with arthritis and was then cured by his hot baths in Tripoli. At 4. 96 we see him celebrating the mass of Pentecost in Cyprus, on his way home.

Logos 4 was obviously written in Constantinople (5–6: Ἰδοὺ γάρ, ιδού, καθαρώτατα βλέπω | τὴν παντέραστον, ὀλβίαν Βυζαντίδα, 187–94). Consequently, Manasses' journey had taken about two years (summer 1160 to summer 1162). At the time of the wedding of the Emperor Manuel with Mary of Antioch, on 25 December 1161, our poet most probably was in Tripoli.

2. *Multum, non multa.* If the general John Contostephanus had included the young Constantine Manasses in his imperial embassy in the hope that he would immortalize the betrothal of the future empress of Byzantium, he was utterly wrong: in his poem, our poet proves to be a hopelessly lyric and romantic *enfant terrible*, reminding us of Catullus. The analysis of the content of the *Itinerary* clearly shows that Manasses never intended to produce either a *historical chronicle* of the imperial mission or a traditional and proper *Iter Hierosolymitanum*.

What Manasses has produced instead is a work of four lyrical episodes reflecting the poet's psychological reaction to external events and attesting his despair and deep unhappiness at being *anywhere* except in his native Constantinople. Manasses is *deliberately selective* in his narrative. He combines poetic *ecphrasis* with analysis of psychological phenomena and with philosophical or religious reflection. The convergences between his romantic novel in verse and his versified chronicle have been pointed out in the analysis of the content of the poem.

The poet's deliberate selectiveness of subject-matter is indicated in the poem by such aposiopetic expressions as these:

Τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γὰρ βούλομαι παρατρέχειν.	4.41
Τί δεῖ κατατείνειν με μακροὺς τοὺς λόγους;	1.60
Καὶ γοῦν τὰ πολλὰ τί μάτην παραπλέκω;	1.76
Τί δεῖ διαγράφειν με τὰς πάσας πόλεις;	1.91

Τί ταῦτα τλήμων εἰς μάτην καταλέγω,
τῆς Αἰσχύλου χρήζοντα δραματουργίας
ἢ τῆς Φρυνίχου πενθικῆς στωμυλίας;
Εἰ γάρ τὰ πάντα κατὰ λεπτόν τις φράσει,
ὑπερβαλεῖται συγγραφὴν Θουκυδίου.²⁶

1.213-17

The last remark seems telling: the poet is not producing a systematic historical record.

As for the poet's nostalgia for Constantinople, it has become a *guiding thread* of the entire poem, being repeated no less than *eleven* times (1. 77; 1. 208; 1. 331-36; 2. 84-90; 2. 112-13; 2. 137-40; 2. 153-58; 3. 24-28; 3. 102-06; 4. 1-35; 4. 187-94). These systematic outbursts of homesickness are a deliberate device of the poet, serving as a unifying motif for the four fragmentary Logoi.

In brief, Manasses' *Itinerary* is not a chronological diary of his journey, but rather a fragmented personal soliloquy by the poet. Incidentally, *Odoeporicum* is a convenient title given to Manasses' poem by Leo Allatius (back in 1651),²⁷ which has no support at all in the manuscripts.

There is, however, more to it than this. Manasses was not satisfied with producing a warm lyrical soliloquy in his *Itinerary*. In addition, he wanted to play the role of an innovative *poeta novus* in the tolerant Comnenan era, who would not hesitate to shock the ears and hearts of his Byzantine audience. And just how is Manasses deliberately shocking and offensive in his poem? By repeatedly qualifying his participation in the imperial wedding-embassy as simply a nightmare and the worst experience of his life, and by being unable to find better descriptions of the places of the Holy Land than, for example, these:

ἢ τὴν Ναζαρέτ, τὴν ἐμοὶ στυγητέαν	4.10
ἄν ἐννοήσω τῆς Ναζαρὲτ τὸ πνίγος . . .	1.297
"Τί γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἡ Ναζαρὲτ ἐκτρέφει;" ²⁸	1.301
ἐκ μὲν ποταμῶν τὰς ρόας Ἰορδάνου μηδ' ἐν ποταμοῖς συγκαταριθμουμένου, ἐκ τῶν πολιχνίων δὲ τῆς Παλαιστίνης τὰ λυπρότατα καὶ κατεσκληρυμμένα· τὴν Καπερναούμ τὴν κατεστυγημένην καὶ τὴν Ναζαρὲτ τὴν ἀπηνθρακωμένην.	1.305-10

Last but not least, by employing such scatological expressions as these:

Οὗτῳ μόλις πέφευγεν ὁ σκατοφάγος. 4.129

²⁶ Similar expressions at 1. 25; 1. 152; 1. 179; 2. 13; 2. 69; 3. 29 f. and 4. 169 belong to a different rhetorical device.

²⁷ In a note to his edition of Georgius Acropolites, p. 201 ed. Paris. (1651) = p. 205 ed. Bonnensis (1836).

²⁸ See the remark attributed to Nathanael, NT John 1:46.

Βδελύττομαι γάρ τήνδε τὴν κακοσμίαν ώς τῶν κακῶν που τὴν δυσώδη κοπρίαν . . .	4.105–06
Μὴ Κύπρον οἰκῶ, τὴν κάκοσμον πικρίαν; ἄλλοις κύπειρον οὖσαν [sc. Κύπρον], ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ κόπρον. 2.86	4.8

The poet's excuses (1. 268, τολμηρὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλά μοι συγγνωστέον; 4. 130, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο, κὰν μέμφοιτο τις) will convince nobody: he wants to shock.

Manasses' innovative drive is also reflected in two characteristics of his diction and style. First, the poem abounds in compound nouns and adjectives. Some of them are extremely rare; some are the poet's own neologisms, and well deserve a separate (lexicographical) study. Second, Manasses abuses the device of employing "heavy," three-word lines. Including three two-word lines (2. 19–20, ἀπηνθράκωσεν, ἔξεδαπάνησέ με, Ι ἐπυρπόλησεν, ἔξετηγάνισέ με; 4. 151, Πτολεμαΐδος μυριοφονευτρίας), there is a total of forty-two such lines in the poem, one in every nineteen lines. This is the highest frequency in the entire corpus of Byzantine iambography (with the sole exception of the extant metrical seals).²⁹ Although the shape 5 + 3 + 4 syllables prevails in the poem (with eleven examples), the *rhopalic* shape (3 + 4 + 5 syllables) seems to be the most impressive:

γυναικὶ φιλόπαιδι θαλαμευτρίᾳ.	1.121
ἔφωσε, κατέπληξε, κατήστραψέ με.	1.163
εὔνοφρυς, εὐπρόσωπος, εὐπρεπεστάτη, εὔοπτος, εὐπλόκαμος, εὐγενεστάτη	1.196–97
χειμῶνας ἔξήγειρεν ἀελλοπνόους	1.210
ἄνθρωπος εὐμάραντος, ἐκτετηγμένος	2.26

In conclusion, if the suggested interpretation of Manasses' *Itinerary* is plausible, it may well shed new light on the poet's intention. He wanted to produce an innovative *programmatic* poem. His *neoteric* objectives are reflected in the selectiveness of his subject-matter and in his fragmented mode of expression. As a result, the poem is subjective, emotional, sometimes introspective and sometimes even shocking and offensive. Apparently, Manasses' emotional outbursts only reflect the general tendencies of the *romantic movement* of the Comnenan era (Theodorus Prodromus, Nicetas Eugenianus, Eustathius Macrembolites). What a pity that Manasses' love novel did not survive!

²⁹ The ratio of three-word dodecasyllables in Byzantine metrical seals is 1/11.35 (total, 931 lines). With a ratio of 1/19, Manasses takes first place among the Byzantine poets in the frequency of such lines. Ephraim's *Caesares* (total, 10392 lines) is second, with a ratio of 1/23.3. Compare M. Marcovich, *Three-word Trimeter in Greek Tragedy* (Beiträge zur klass. Philologie, 158 [Königstein 1984]), pp. 160–61; 163; 202 f.; 210 f.

IV. Textual Criticism

Horna's edition of 1903 is critical and judicious, but it is not totally satisfactory. Space allows me to suggest only a few emendations here. At 1. 91–98 Horna follows Marcianus in printing:

Τί δεῖ διαγράφειν με τὰς πάσας πόλεις,
Σιδῶνα, Τύρον, λιμένας Βηρυτίων,
Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν φονεύτριαν πόλιν;
Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν φθορᾶς ἐπαξίαν,
ἔξ ής, Ἰησοῦ, φῶς ἀειβρύτου φάους,
τὴν ἡλιακήν ἀπομαράναις φλόγα
καὶ συσκιάσαις τὴν πανόπτριαν κόρην,
ώς μὴ ποσῶς βλέποιτο μισητὴ πόλις.

95

Venetus, however, adds a new line after 92 and corrects 98 accordingly. Since Venetus seems to reflect Manasses' δεύτεραι φροντίδες, its text is to be preferred here:

Τί δεῖ διαγράφειν με τὰς πάσας πόλεις,	91
Σιδῶνα, Τύρον, λιμένας Βηρυτίων;	92
Εἶδον σὺν ἄλλαις παντομίσητον πόλιν	92 ^a
Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν φονεύτριαν πόλιν.	93
Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν φθορᾶς ἐπαξίαν . . .	94
ώς μὴ βλέποιτο τὸ στυγητὸν τοῦ τόπου.	98

The compound at 92^a, παντομίσητος, recurs at 2. 10 (ὦ παγκακία, παντομίσητος Τύρος), as well as in Manasses' prose. Compare also 4. 40 (τὴν παντομισῆ, τὴν κατάπτυστον πόλιν). As for the repetition of the same word at the beginning or end of two successive lines (which did not sound pedestrian to a Byzantine ear), compare: 1. 8–9 πόνους I; πονουμένῳ I. 2. 21–22 ἔζόφου I; συνεζόφου I. 2. 51–52 μυρίων κακῶν I, μυρίων κακῶν I. 4. 54 κόρην χαριτόφθαλμον, εὔοπτον κόρην. 4. 67–68 θράσος I, θράσους I. 1. 175–76 I καλὸν τὸ χεῖλος . . ., I καλὸν τὸ χεῖλος . . . 2. 101–02 I ρήτωρ ἄγλωσσος . . ., I ρήτωρ ἄφωνος. . . .

1.123–49: John Contostephanus kept the purpose of the journey secret. Finally, in Samaria he was forced to reveal it to the members of the embassy: it was to seek a prospective bride for the emperor. The relevant text reads:

'Ο γὰρ σεβαστός, ἀκριβῶς πεπεισμένος ἄριστον εἶναι τὸ παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ μόνῳ μυστήριον κρύπτοντα τοῦ βασιλέως, οὐ παρεγύμνου τὸν σκοπὸν πρὸς οὐδένα.	125
Καίτοι γε πολλῶν πολλὰ ποτνιωμένων καὶ τὴν ἀνακάλυψιν ἔξαιτουμένων, εἰς τίνα καὶ ποῦ τοῦ δρόμου τὸ γοργόπουν. . . 'Ως οὖν λαθεῖν ἦν ἀδύνατον εἰς τέλος,	140

ὅτου χάριν παρῆμεν εἰς Παλαιστίνην
καὶ Σαμαρειῶν τοὺς πολυρρύτους τόπους,
ιδεῖν τὸ κάλλος τῆς κόρης ἐγλιχόμην. . .

145

Horna indicated a lacuna after line 142. But his text does not yield a satisfactory sense. Καίτοι (140) is not concessive, and should be read, Καί τοι = 'Άλλά τοι ("But when"); furthermore, the main clause of the sentence has been dropped after 143, εἰς τέλος; finally, the sentence closes with 145, τόπους. Consequently, read:

Καί τοι γε πολλῶν πολλὰ πονιωμένων	140
καὶ τὴν ἀνακάλυψιν ἔξαιτονμένων,	
εἰς τίνα καὶ ποῦ τοῦ δρόμου τὸ γοργόπουν,	
ώς οὖν λαθεῖν ἦν ἀδύνατον, εἰς τέλος	143
<δ πανσέβαστος παρεγύμνου πᾶν τέλος,>	143 ^a
ὅτου χάριν παρῆμεν εἰς Παλαιστίνην	144
καὶ Σαμαρειῶν τοὺς πολυρρύτους τόπους.	145

The most likely reason for the omission of line 143^a is the isoteleuton τέλος. As for the text of the added line, ὁ πανσέβαστος (referring to Contostephanus) recurs at 4. 72; παρεγύμνου we already had in 1. 128; and τέλος, in the sense of 1. 128 σκοπός, recurs at 2. 148.

In 1. 153–99 the poet had the opportunity of seeing the prospective bride Millicent in a chapel at Samaria. The chapel is elaborate but dark. With the entrance of Millicent a brilliant light begins to shine: it is the radiance of her bright and beautiful face. The text reads:

Οἰκίσκος ἦν τις ἀμυδρὸν τὸ φῶς ἔχων,	153
κόσμον μὲν αὐχῶν, ἄλλὰ καὶ μῶμον φέρων·	
οὐ πλουσίας γάρ εἶχεν αὐγὰς ἡλίου.	155
Τοῦτον θαμίζων πολλάκις ἀνιστόρουν	
καὶ τὸ ζοφῶδες ἥτιώμην τοῦ δόμου·	
ἄλλ', ὥσπερ ἦν σύνηθες, εἰσιόντι μοι	
αἴφνης ὀρᾶται χιονόχρωτος κόρη ³⁰	
καὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς φεραυγοῦντος λαμπάδος	160
φωτὸς πυριμάρμαρον ἐκφέρει σέλας,	
καὶ καταλάμπει καὶ διώκει τὸν ζόφον·	
ἐφωσε, κατέπληξε, κατήστραψε με.	

There are too many genitives in line 160. Consequently, read τῇ φεραυγῇ λαμπάδι (in 160), and εἰσφέρει (for ἐκφέρει) in line 161: "and with her face as a light-bringing lamp she introduces a gleaming brightness into the chapel."

The poet describes Golgotha as follows:

Τὸ Γολγοθᾶ κατεῖδον, εἶδον τὰς πέτρας

1.230

³⁰ In Manasses' *Chronicle*, Helen of Troy is also χιονόχρους (1158), with τὸ πρόσωπον κατάλευκον (1162).

τὰς πρὶν ῥάγείσας καὶ λυθείσας ἐκ φόβου,³¹
 ὅταν θεός μου καὶ κεραμεὺς τοῦ γένους
 τὸ κοσμοσωτήριον ὑποστὰς πάθος
 ἐκ τῶν λίθων ἤγειρεν Ἀβραὰμ τέκνα,³²
 τὴν συντριβεῖσαν ἀνακαίνιζων φύσιν.³³

235

In line 232 θεός μου is the reading of Vaticanus. Marcianus offers ὁ πλάστης instead, and this reading is to be preferred in view of 2. 149–50 (both lines referring to Jesus, as in our passage):

ναὶ ναὶ, κεραμεὺς φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης,
 ναὶ ναὶ, φυτουργὲ πλάσεως βροτησίας.

At 2. 84–90 the poet expresses his frank opinion about Cyprus, as compared with shining Constantinople—*laudabunt alii . . .*:

Καὶ νῦν παροικῶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην Κύπρον,
 τὴν λιπαρὰν γῆν, τὴν πολυφόρον χθόνα·
 ἄλλοις κύπειρον οὖσαν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ Κύπρον.
 Τί γὰρ ταπεινῶν ἀστρίων ἀμαυρότης
 πρὸς τὴν τὸ πᾶν βόσκουσαν ἡλίου φλόγα;
 "Η τί πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν
 ἡ Κύπρος ἡ σύμπασα καὶ τὰ τῆς Κύπρου;

84

90

The poem abounds in puns: 1. 35, δυσπνόοις πνοαῖς | (cf. Soph., *Ant.* 588); 1. 209, ἀλλ' ἀντιπνεύσας κακίας |; 2. 74–76:

τὸν φλοῦν ἀπεξήρανε τὸν τοῦ σαρκίου,
τὸν χρῦν ἀπημαύρωσε τῆς διαρτίας,
τὸν ροῦν ἐπωχέτευσε τῶν ἐντοσθίων.

Compare also 2. 148, Γένοιτο, Χριστέ, καὶ τυχεῖν χρηστοῦ τέλους; 3.75, ἄλλην ἀτραπὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔτράπην, and others. Line 2. 86, however, lacks such a pun. Κύπειρον, the aromatic and medical herb *galangal*, *galingale*, *gladiolum*, *Cyperus rotundus*, is something pleasant and positive. Accordingly, Κύπρον must hide something unpleasant and negative. Read instead:

ἄλλοις κύπειρον οὖσαν [sc. Κύπρον], ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ κόπρον.

While to others Cyprus evokes the picture of the sweet-smelling galangal, it brings to the poet's mind only the idea of a heap of ill-smelling manure or dung. The suggested emendation finds its support in 4. 8, Μὴ Κύπρον οἴκῳ, τὴν κάκοσμον πικρίαν; as well as in 4. 106, τὴν δυσώδη κοπρίαν |; 4. 129, ὁ σκατοφάγος |.

³¹ Matthew 27:51.

³² Matthew 3:9.

³³ Rom. 12:2; Tit. 3:5; Eph. 4:22–24; Col. 3:9–10.

In Logos 4, the poet cannot believe that he is back in Constantinople; he thinks it is only a deceptive dream:

'Ιδού γάρ, ίδού, καθαρώτατα βλέπω	4.5
τὴν παντέραστον, ὀλβίαν Βυζαντίδα.	
'Αλλ' ὡς τί τοῦτο; Μή πεπλάνημαι πάλιν;	11
Φαντάζομαι ψευδῶς σε, χρυσέα πόλις;	
'Ενύπνιόν μοι τοῦτο καὶ νυκτὸς γέλως,	
ἢ σε τρανῶς κατεῖδον ὅπαρ, οὐκ ὄναρ;	
Τί, φεῦ, πέπονθα; Ποῖ παρεπλάγχθην φρενῶν; ³⁴	27
"Ω πῶς τὸ συχνῶν τῶν ὄνείρων τῆς πλάνης	
τὸ πιστὸν ἔξεκοψε τῶν ὄρωμένων;	

The expression of line 29, τὸ πιστὸν . . . τῶν ὄρωμένων, requires that we read in line 28 τὸ συχνὸν τῶν ὄνείρων.

The poet cannot stand the pungent odor of garlic (stinkweed), and he uses this simile:

Βδελύττομαι γὰρ τήνδε τὴν κακοσμίαν, ³⁵	4.105
ώς τῶν κακῶν μου τὴν δυσώδη κοπρίαν,	
ώς αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σατανᾶ τὸν τύπον.	

The poet's own excrements (= 106, τὰ κακά) are as malodorous as anybody else's. Thus read in 106 ποὺ, for μου, "as, for example," "as may be." What is more important, garlic has nothing in common with the devil. On the contrary, it is an apotropaic plant that drives away the devil, the evil eye, demons, Hecate, and so on.³⁶ What the poet particularly abhors is "the Devil's place, house or abode."³⁷ Consequently, read in line 107 τόπον for τύπον. This scribal error is proverbial.

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³⁴ Cf. Eur., *Hipp.* 240.

³⁵ Sc. τοῦ σκορόδου.

³⁶ Cf., e.g., Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Bloomington, Indiana 1966), D1385.2.8.

³⁷ Cf. Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin-Leipzig, 4 [1932]), p. 179 f.; Stith Thompson, G401.

Das Ende Neuroms in der Sicht der deutschen Zeitgenossen

JOHANNES IRMSCHER

Im Jahre 1976 legte bei Arnaldo Mondadori der leider allzufrüh verstorbene Mailänder Byzantinist Agostino Pertusi unter dem Titel "La caduta di Costantinopoli" zwei bemerkenswerte kommentierte Textbände vor, von denen der erste den Untertitel trägt: "Le testimonianze dei contemporanei," während der zweite unter die Überschrift "L'eco nel mondo" gerückt ist. Die Einleitung des ersten Bandes würdigt die Türken als welthistorische Potenz: Sie sind "la grande paura del mondo," ihr Sultan Mehmed II. wird vielfältig Gegenstand künstlerischer Darstellung und in den historischen Werken der Zeit ein personaggio epico, das türkische Heer macht ein Thema aufmerksamer Bewunderung aus, und den Fall des byzantinischen Reiches kommentierte kein Geringerer als Enea Silvio Piccolomini, nachmals Papst Pius II., mit den Worten: "Fuerunt Itali rerum domini, nunc Turchorum inchoatur imperium."¹ So hatte sich die Nachricht von den Geschehnissen des 29. Mai 1453 wie ein Lauffeuer durch die gesamte Ökumene verbreitet, und Pertusi zeigte auf, welche Wege dabei begangen wurden, und erfaßte die sentimenti di partecipazione umana e interessamento politico—bei den Griechen und ihren orthodoxen Glaubensbrüdern, im Westen und auch bei den Türken. Bei der Auswahl seiner Texte lag das Schwergewicht des Editors naturgemäß bei den Anrainervölkern des byzantinischen Staates. Nachträge und Ergänzungen sind daher namentlich in bezug auf Mitteleuropa möglich und erforderlich, wobei ein früherer Aufsatz von mir: "Zeitgenössische deutsche Stimmen zum Fall von Byzanz"² als Ausgangspunkt genommen werden kann.

Im Unterschied zu dem Balkangebiet und im Unterschied auch zu den italienischen Herrschaften mit ihren weitgespannten Ostinteressen war

¹ Pertusi, a.a.O. 1, XXIII.

² J. Irmscher, *Byzantinoslavica* 14 (1953), 109 ff.

Deutschland—hier nicht im staatspolitischen, sondern im geographischen Sinne verstanden—zunächst von dem osmanischen Vordringen nur wenig betroffen. Indes übte, wie Pertusis Dokumentensammlung zeigte, der Fall von Konstantinopel eine so einschneidende Wirkung, daß sich davon sehr bald auch die entfernteren Territorien berührt fühlten. Hatte man in vergangenen Säkula für das schismatische Byzanz nur recht gelegentlich Geschmack und Interesse gezeigt, so setzte jetzt eine verstärkte Beschäftigung mit dem gefährlichen Eroberervolke ein, das die Märchenstadt am Bosporus hatte einnehmen können. Die Überwindung der feudalen Gebundenheit durch das Wachstum der Städte, durch den seit den Kreuzzügen intensivierten Fernhandel, durch die Ausbildung der Grundlagen der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise und die dadurch hervorgerufenen gesellschaftlichen Strukturwandlungen weiteten das Weltbild der sich ihrer bewußt werdenden bürgerlichen Klasse. Dabei zeigten sich in der Haltung gegenüber den vordringenden Türken bemerkenswerte Differenzierungen innerhalb der verschiedenen sozialen Gruppierungen.

Die deutschen Chroniken der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts nahmen fast ausnahmslos von dem Fall Konstantinopels Notiz und bewerteten dieses Ereignis ziemlich einheitlich. Der brandenburgische Franziskaner Matthias Döring (gestorben 1469)³ führte seine Fortsetzung der Chronik des Theodoricus Engelhusius (gestorben 1434)⁴ bis zum Jahre 1464 weiter, wobei der obersächsisch-brandenburgische Raum den Mittelpunkt seines Interesses bildete. Um so bemerkenswerter ist die Aufmerksamkeit, die der Chronist der Eroberung Konstantinopels und zugleich ihren innerdeutschen Auswirkungen zuteil werden ließ:

Imperator Turcorum per terram et mare vallavit Constantinopolim cum 200000 et cepit eam et populum rededit in servitutem Imperatoremque et filium et filiam captivos duxit ad ecclesiam magnam Sancte Zophie. In cuius altari, prout famabatur, filiam stupravit patre et fratre insipientibus, quo facto et patrem et filium et filiam immaniter in frusta concidi jussit cum protestacione, quod ante finem anni sequentis ita faceret pape et Cardinalibus in Roma. Et ad id prosequendum muris Constantinopolis urbis solo equatis iter vertit versus Ungariam, in quo regno iam surrexit quedam discolorum ex reliquiis heresis Bohemicalis congregata societas [nämlich die Hussiten] que regnum prefatum depopulabatur ab intra, Turco ab extra invadente. In his omnibus Imperator Fridericus australis [nämlich Friedrich III., 1440–1493] sedit in domo, plantans ortos et capiens aviculas, ignavus. Regnum quoque Ytalicum ad id nichil valet per guerras, per Imperatorem post sui coronacionem in Ytalia relictas, ut sic bellum internum ecclesie infidelibus det ansam ecclesiam invadendi. Ita enim dicitur Turcum dixisse, antequam Alemanni bellicosi, quos plus pondero, concordare poterunt, intencionem meam de destruccione Rome videbo

³ August Pothast, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi*, 1, 2. Aufl. (Berlin 1896), 382.

⁴ Pothast a.a.O. 407.

completam. Sicque Constantinopolis, que condita fuit anno Domini 334,
hoc anno destruitur.⁵

Sehr viel kürzer und lediglich das Geschehen in Konstantinopel berücksichtigend informierten andere Chroniken, wie z.B. das von Leibniz erschlossene, bis 1474 reichende *Chronicon Sancti Aegidii in Brunsvig*⁶ (d.h. Braunschweig), von einem ungenannt bleibenden Mönch jenes Klosters abgefaßt,⁷ oder das 1475 gedruckte, gleichfalls anonyme Lübecker⁸ *Rudimentum noviciorum—epitome sive sistema historiae universalis*⁹ oder die 1493 gedruckte Weltchronik des Nürnberger Stadtarztes und Humanisten Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514),¹⁰ die überdies einen Holzschnitt mit der Stadtansicht Konstantinopels bietet,¹¹ oder die bis 1508 reichende Weltchronik des Passauer Presbyters Johann Staindel.¹²

Nach den Chroniken stand also Neurom, Orientis imperii sedes, wie es bei Staindel hieß, dem Bewußtsein der Leser recht fern, und seine Einnahme durch die Osmanen war von mancherlei Grausamkeit gekennzeichnet; daß durch das türkische Vordringen auch die deutschen Belange berührt werden könnten, war von all den Chronisten nur Matthias Döring deutlich geworden. An politischem Sensus erlangte es den westlichen Chronisten

⁵ Riedel, *Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis*, IV 1 (Berlin 1862), 224.

⁶ Joannes Pistorius, *Rerum Germanicarum scriptores aliquot insignes* (Regensburg 1731), 1111: "Constantinopolis a Turchis capitul, in qua, omnibus Christianis ab annis sex supra interfectis, imperator Graecorum occiditur. Insuper alii circiter 60 millia vinci, in captivitatem ducuntur, crucifixusque abominabiliter ab impiis illuditur."

⁷ Potthast a.a.O. 235.

⁸ Potthast a.a.O. 2, 986.

⁹ *Rudimentum noviciorum* (Lübeck 1475), Blatt 408 verso: "Eodem etiam anno qui est Domini 1453 Imperator thurcorum oppugnans Constantinopolim quolibet die ter [sic!] terra marique plus quam cum 300 milibus hominum ad 66 dies tandem obtinuit eam Imperatore grecorum ac patriarcha cum omnibus christianis masculis ad instar pecudum trucidatis mulieribus abductis raptisque virginibus 28 die marci."

¹⁰ Potthast a.a.O. 2, 1001.

¹¹ Text bei Andreas Felix Oefelius, *Rerum Boicarum scriptores*, 1 (Augsburg 1763), 394: "Turci obtinuerunt terram et civitatem Constantinopolin et magnam ibidem multitudinem Christianorum interfecerunt et praecipue ipsum Imperatorem Graeciae, et omnes Ecclesias desolârunt, et reliquias Sanctorum pedibus conculcaverunt facientes ex Ecclesiis stabula equorum et luponaria, et tandem eandem civitatem suo Domino subjugârunt, et circa Constantinopolin circumquaque multas civitates devâstamus [sic!] usque ad fines Hungariae. Fuit autem id factum sub Friderico Imperatore tertio et sub Nicolao Papa V. Videlicet quod regia civitas Constantinopolis caput totius Ecclesiae orientalis diu obsessa tandem capta a Saracenis et ab Imperatore Turcorum in grave praejudicium et ludibrium totius Christianitatis. Hic namque magna multitudo virorum religiosorum virginumque et aliorum Christianorum miserabiliter occisa occubuerunt, et Sanctorum reliquiae cum locis sacratis irreligiose et inhumanitus execratae et desolatae." Die Stadtansicht in der deutschsprachigen Ausgabe von 1493 (Reprint Leipzig 1933), Blatt 249.

¹² Potthast a.a.O. 2, 1029. Text bei Oefelius a.a.O. 537: "Constantinopolis orientis Imperii sedes et armis expugnata a Mahumeto Turcorum Rege caede diripitur XXIX. mensis Maji, anno regni ejus tertio. In hujus urbis populatione Constantinus Paleologus, et ipse matre Helena genitus, orientis Imperator capite truncatus regni simul et vitae finem fecit, defecitque Imperium Graecorum."

klösterlicher oder verwandter Couleur im allgemeinen offenbar ebenso wie ihren byzantinischen Kollegen. Wesentlich sensibler zeigten sich demgegenüber die poetischen Äußerungen, in denen die differenten Positionen der unterschiedlichen gesellschaftlichen Kräfte recht beredt und parteilich zum Ausdruck kamen. Die Genres Türkenlieder und Fastnachts-spiele sind hier zuvörderst zu nennen.

Die Türkenlieder erscheinen in größerer Zahl erst mit dem Jahre 1529. Die unablässig vordringenden Türken hatten zwischen 1459 und 1463 Serbien und Bosnien als Provinzen ihrem Imperium einverleibt, 1479 Albanien besetzt, 1521 Belgrad erobert und standen nunmehr vor Wien, der Hauptstadt des Heiligen Römischen Reiches deutscher Nation. Wenn 1453 deutsche Spießbürger sagen konnten, um aus dem "Osterspaziergang" des Goetheschen "Faust" zu zitieren:

Nichts Bessers weiß ich mir an Sonn- und Feiertagen
als ein Gespräch von Krieg und Kriegsgeschrei,
wenn hinten, weit, in der Türkei,
die Völker aufeinander schlagen,

so war diese Türkei nunmehr nicht mehr weit, sondern sehr nahe gerückt, ja die Türken wurden als die wahren Erbfeinde des deutschen Namens angesehen, und ihrem Vordringen Einhalt zu gebieten, erkannte man als nationale Aufgabe. Im vorangehenden Jahrhundert war der Kreis derer, welche die zukünftigen Entwicklungen bereits erahnten, jedoch noch sehr eng gezogen.

Ein Druck von Johannes Gutenberg in Mainz, der heute zu den seltensten Inkunabeln gehört, reproduzierte "Eyn manung der cristenheit widder die durken"¹³ (*un' esortazione alla cristianità contro i turchi*¹⁴), ein Gedicht von über 180 Versen in einer vom elsässischen Dialekt beeinflußten Sprachform, das offenkundig in den ersten Wochen des Jahres 1455 in der Diözese Straßburg entstand.¹⁵ Es beginnt mit einer Anrufung Christi und dem Gebet um Hilfe wider die Türken.

Aiutaci d'ora in poi in tutte le ore
contro i nostri nemici, i turchi e pagani;
fa loro scontare la malvagia violenza
che a Costantinopoli e in Grecia
hanno usato contro non poca povera gente,
catturando, torturando, uccidendo e umiliandola,
come secoli fa è successo agli Apostoli.¹⁶

¹³ Text bei Johannes Joachim in: Karl Dzitzko, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Schrift-, Buch- und Bibliothekswesens* 6 (Leipzig 1901), 87 ff.

¹⁴ Von einem Kreuzzugsappell spricht Robert Schwoebel, *The shadow of the Crescent: the Renaissance image of the Turk (1453–1517)* (Nieuwkoop 1967), 166.

¹⁵ Joachim a.a.O. 98 ff.—Gutenberg hatte von 1434 bis 1444 in Straßburg gelebt (Aloys Ruppel, *Johannes Gutenberg* [Berlin 1939], 41), die Verbindung liegt daher nahe.

¹⁶ Übersetzung von Barbara Stein Molinelli bei Pertusi a.a.O. 2, 327.

Den Hauptteil des Gedichtes, das sicher keine große Kunst, aber doch praktikable Gebrauchsliteratur im Dienste der Reichspolitik verkörpert, macht ein Horoskop¹⁷ mit astrologischen Voraussagen für das Jahre 1455 aus. Diese bezeugen eine ziemliche Vertrautheit des Verfassers mit den politischen Konstellationen der Zeit, für welche wesentliche Quellen faßbar gemacht wurden.¹⁸ Aber so munter auch die europäischen Mächte, mit dem Papst angefangen, Revue passierten und so optimistisch der Poet seine Prophezeiungen auch zu gestalten suchte, am Ende blieb ihm doch nur das Gebet zu dem Herrgott und zu der Muttergottes.

Ähnlichen Stimmungen begegnen wir bei dem Meistersinger¹⁹ Michael Behaim aus Sulzbach in Württemberg; er wurde dort 1416 geboren und verstarb ebenda nach 1474.²⁰ Weber von Beruf, nahm er 1439 Kriegsdienste an und suchte die Verbindung zu Fürstenhöfen von Ungarn bis nach Norwegen. Einen dezidiert päpstlich-katholischen Standpunkt vertretend, pries er seine adeligen Gönner, geißelte er das Hussitentum, das uns als reichsgefährdend ja bereits in der Döringschen Chronik begegnete, und schmähte er die Aufständischen, die 1462 den Kaiser in seiner Wiener Burg belagert hatten; als er freilich später die kaiserliche Gnade verlor, eiferte er auch gegen Fürstenwillkür und Pfaffentum. Seine zahlreichen Poesien vermögen strengeren ästhetischen Maßstäben nicht gerecht zu werden, um so bedeutsamer ist ihr historischer Quellenwert.²¹ In neun Strophen von insgesamt 87 Versen gab auch Behaim eine esortazione, welche die Gesamtheit der christlichen Fürsten aufrief, das geschändete Byzanz wiederzugewinnen; er überschrieb das Karmen "Dis geticht sagt von turken und vom adel"²² (Questa poesia parla dei turchi e della nobiltà). Es beginnt mit der Feststellung: "La corona greca è caduta," und nennt das Ende von Byzanz eine Katastrophe, nicht zuletzt, weil sie fast 300000 Christen das Leben kostete—eine weit übertriebene Zahl,²³ die uns jedoch bereits mit Regelmäßigkeit in den Chroniken begegnete. Ihr aber, "principi del Sacro Romano Impero, siete responsabili del loro sangue." Ihr habt keinen Finger gerührt, als Konstantinopel um Hilfe rief, und ihr werdet, wenn ihr euch

¹⁷ Zu den astrologischen Daten vgl. Arthur Wyß in: *Festschrift zum fünfhundertjährigen Geburtstage von Johann Gutenberg*, hgg. von Otto Hartwig (Leipzig 1900), 380 ff.; Wyß spricht geradezu von einem Türkentaler.

¹⁸ Durch Joachim a.a.O. 93 ff.

¹⁹ Die Bezeichnung ist insofern zu präzisieren, als Behaim nicht zu den seßhaften, handwerklichen Meistersingern gehörte; so Hellmut Rosenfeld in: *Neue deutsche Biographie*, 2 (Berlin [West] 1955), 6.

²⁰ Fritz Morré, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 30 (1940), 5 ff.

²¹ Günter Albrecht u.a., *Deutsches Schriftstellerlexikon von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl. (Weimar 1963), 39 f.

²² Text bei Th. G. von Karajan in: *Quellen und Forschungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst* (Wien 1849), 64 f. Zur Interpretation vgl. Hans Gille, *Die historischen und politischen Gedichte Michel Beheads* (Berlin 1910), 117 ff., der auch Behaims spätere Türkengedichte berücksichtigt.

²³ So richtig Pertusi a.a.O. 2, 481.

nicht gegen den heidnischen Türken zur Wehr setzt, die Macht verlieren, die ihr Kaiser Karl (dem Großen) verdankt. In einer Zeit, die Einigkeit fordert, leben die Christen in Zwietracht; der kaiserliche Adler, anziché volare su zone selvagge nutrendosi di animali selvatici, cioè anziché portare le sue armi lontane contro i pagani, preferisce ora volteggiare sui villaggi dell'impero germanico e nutrirsi di animali domestici, come fa la poiana.²⁴

Es ist überaus wahrscheinlich, daß der dienstbereite Meistersinger Behaim mit seinen Versen, die ja schon durch die Überschrift den innerpolitischen Bezug herauskehrten, nicht nur die eigene Meinung aussprach, sondern zugleich einem politischen Auftrag gerecht wurde.²⁵ Eine solcher Auftrag steht ganz eindeutig hinter dem Gedicht "Türkenschrei," als dessen Verfasser sich ein sonst nicht bekannter Balthasar Mandelreiß nennt.²⁶ Das 33 Strophen umfassende Poem, das in zwei voneinander abweichenden Versionen überliefert ist, gehört in das Jahr 1455/56. Das Gedicht spricht von "uns" (Strophe 33) und "unserm Heer" (Strophe 32) und ruft zum Kampf gegen die Türken auf, welche die Christenheit bedrohen, nachdem einleitend in der uns schon vertrauten Weise die Schändung Griechenlands und der "Verrat" Konstantinopels²⁷ beklagt wurden. Ansonsten wird das Geschehen im Osten nur in Allgemeinplätzen behandelt, während sich der Verfasser über die politischen Aktionen des Westens, die der militärische Erfolg der Osmanen auslöste, wohlinformiert zeigt. Er weiß um die Bulle Papst Nikolaus' V. vom 30. September 1453 und weiß um die Bemühungen, einen allgemeinen Landfrieden herzustellen. Im Sinne der Appelle, welche von den Reichstagen zu Regensburg und Frankfurt 1454 und zu Wiener Neustadt 1455 ausgingen, wandte sich Mandelreiß an die einzelnen "edlen Fürsten" (Strophe 15), beginnend mit dem König von Frankreich, sowie an die "ehrbarer Reichsstädte" (Strophe 29) mit der Aufforderung, dem Vordringen der heidnischen Türken ein Ende zu setzen; aber auch Mönche und Kleriker sollten "wider die Türken" fechten helfen. Dann dürfe man auch die Zuversicht haben, mit Sankt Peters und Mariä Hilfe "mit Freuden" (Strophe 32) wieder nach Hause zu kommen.

Schon die Inhaltsübersicht läßt erkennen, daß es sich bei dem Mandelreißgedicht um bestellte Arbeit handelt, um offiziöse Reichspoesie, der es an volkstümlichem Stil ebenso mangelt wie an inhaltlicher Volksverbundenheit. Entstanden sein mögen die Verse, als zur Zeit der Reichstage von Frankfurt und Wiener Neustadt der später heiliggesprochene Franziskaner Johannes Capistranus²⁸ (1386–1456) auf eigene Faust ein Kreuzfahrerheer zusammenbrachte, Ergebnis der Agitation gewisser

²⁴ Interpretation von Pertusi a.a.O. 2, 482, in Übereinstimmung mit Karajan a.a.O. 26 f.

²⁵ G. G. Gervinus sprach von "Gewerbsdichtung im Dienste der Fürsten" (Morré a.a.O. 5).

²⁶ R. v. Liliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, 1 (Leipzig 1865), 460 ff., ebd. S. 463 ff. der Text.

²⁷ Über diese "Dolchstoßlegende" vgl. Irmischer a.a.O. 113 Anm. 20.

²⁸ Zuletzt H. Dopsch bei Mathias Bernath und Felix v. Schroeder, *Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, 2 (München 1976), 288 f.

Hofkreise, deren führender Kopf der erwähnte Humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405–1464), der nachmalige Papst Pius II., war,²⁹ der in vielfacher sonstiger Weise gegen die Türken agitiert³⁰ und auf dem Reichstag zu Frankfurt eine glanzvolle Rede *De Constantinopolitana clade et bello contra Turcos congregando*³¹ gehalten hatte. Bekanntlich gelang es Capistranus, Belgrad zu entsetzen; dann blieb seine Aktion stecken, die Pest befiel das Heer, Capistranus fand den Tod.³²

Gegenüber der offiziösen, mit einer Richtung innerhalb der Aristokratie verbundenen Poesie eines Mandelreiß begegnet uns in den Opera des Nürnberger Meistersingers Hans Rosenplüt wahrhaft volksverbundene Dichtung. Um 1400 in Nürnberg geboren, ergriff der Bürger der damals blühenden Reichsstadt das Büchsenmacherhandwerk, nahm an den Hussitenkriegen teil, verteidigte die Bürgerrechte im Kampf gegen die Anmaßungen des Markgrafen Albrecht III. Achilles von Brandenburg und sympathisierte mit den Plebejern. Sein umfangreiches Oeuvre bedient sich der parteilichen Satire, um die Mißstände der Zeit zu geißeln, oder aber einer grobianischen, die mittelalterliche Gebundenheit durchbrechenden Weltoffenheit.³³

Das Lied Von den Türken,³⁴ 40 Strophen zu je fünf Versen, stellt Strophe 40 für das Jahr 1459 eine große Entscheidung in Aussicht; man darf daraus schließen, daß es gegen Jahresende 1458 entstand. Trotz der Bemühungen Piccolominis und der Beschlüsse der vorhin erwähnten Reichstage zu Regensburg, Frankfurt und Wiener Neustadt und trotz der Tatsache, daß die Aggressivität der Osmanen und damit die unmittelbare Bedrohung des Reichsgebietes immer offenkundiger wurden, war, um der Türkengefahr zu begegnen, nichts Ernsthaftes geschehen, abgesehen von der Ausschreibung neuer Steuern, deren Verwendung für die, welche sie aufbringen mußten, nicht zu kontrollieren war. Vielmehr spitzten sich mit zunehmender Gefährdung von außen die politischen und sozialen Gegensätze im Innern immer mehr zu. Nach den Worten eines Chronisten begann man in Deutschland während der langen Regierungszeit Friedrichs III.—wir fanden ihn ja bereits von Matthias Döring kritisiert—zu vergessen, daß es

²⁹ Zöppfel-Benrath in: *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3. Aufl. von Albert Hauck, 15 (Leipzig 1904), 427.

³⁰ Georg Voigt, *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, als Papst Pius der Zweite, und sein Zeitalter*, 2 (Berlin 1862), 89 ff.

³¹ Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomineus, *Opera quae extant omnia* (Basel 1571), 678 ff.: "Constantinopolitana clades," "quae Turcorum grandis victoria, Graecorum extrema ruina, Latinorum summa infamia fuit," wird als Leitthema vorangestellt, und die Rede schließt mit der Verheißung an die Teilnehmer des Reichstags: "Quia neque oculus vidit, neque auris audivit neque in cor hominis ascendit, quae promisit dominus diligentibus se—quales vos futuros esse o Germani nobiles nemo dubitaverit, si hoc bellum ut Imperator admonet, Papa petit, Christus iubet, pro divino honore atque amore suscipietis" (S. 689).

³² Eugen Jacob, *Johannes von Capistrano*, 1 (Breslau 1903), 152.

³³ Albrecht a.a.O. 551.

³⁴ Liliencron a.a.O. 503 ff., der Text 506 ff.

im Lande einen Kaiser gab,³⁵ so sehr waren Ansehen und reale Macht des obersten Herrschers gesunken, der sich allein auf die ihm durch seine Erblände zur Verfügung stehenden Potenzen zu stützen vermochte und allenfalls darauf Anspruch erheben konnte, als der erste der unter ihm gleichgestellten Feudalherren zu gelten. Diese Schwäche der Zentralgewalt führte dazu, daß sich Böhmen unter dem Hussitenführer Podiebrad, der am 2. März 1458 zum König gewählt wurde, für lange Zeit aus dem Reichsverband löste. Gleichzeitig formierte der vorhin genannte Brandenburger Albrecht Achilles eine Gegenpartei der Fürsten, mit der eine kriegerische Auseinandersetzung unmittelbar bevorzustehen schien. Nicht geringer als die dynastischen waren die gesellschaftlichen Widersprüche der Zeit. Aus dem hohen Adel waren die Fürsten hervorgegangen,³⁶ die sich, wie deutlich wurde, weitestgehend verselbständigt hatten. Fast geschwunden war der mittlere Adel der mediävalen Feudalpyramide, während der niedere Adel, die Ritterschaft, einem raschen Verfall entgegenging. Ein Teil der Ritter war den Fürsten lehnspflichtig, ein anderer reichsunmittelbar; verständlicherweise waren die Fürsten bestrebt, die noch unabhängigen Ritter sich botmäßig zu machen, und umgekehrt bemühten sich diese, möglichst reichsunmittelbar zu werden. Einig waren sich indes die Ritter sämtlich in der Bauernschinderei, die Leibeigenen wurden bis auf den letzten Blutstropfen ausgesogen, die Hörigen mit immer neuen Abgaben und Dienstverpflichtungen belegt. Ähnlich wie der Adel war auch die Geistlichkeit aufgespalten. Der geistlichen Feudalhierarchie der Bischöfe, Äbte und sonstigen Prälaten stand die plebejische Fraktion der Prediger auf dem Lande und in den Städten gegenüber, die den antifeudalen Kräften vielfach ihre Theoretiker und Ideologen lieferte. In der städtischen Gesellschaft hatte das Aufblühen von Handel und Gewerbe neue, antagonistische Fraktionen heraufgeföhrt. Die Spitze der städtischen Gesellschaft machten die patrizischen Geschlechter, die sogenannte Ehrbarkeit, aus, die sowohl die Stadtgemeinde als auch die ihr untertänigen Bauern exploitierten. Die zahlenmäßige Majorität in den Städten bildete die bürgerliche Opposition der reicherem und mittleren Bürger sowie der Kleinbürger unterschiedlicher Couleur; sie drang auf Verfassungstreue, nicht auf revolutionäre Veränderung. Bunt gemischt war die plebejische Opposition der vom Bürgerrechte Ausgeschlossenen. Unter diesen Klassen und Schichten aber stand die große Masse der Nation, die Bauern, die, gleichgültig welchen juristischen Status sie hatten, nahezu rechtlos, in jeder Form ausgesaugt und ausgebeutet wurden.

Rosenplüts *Türkenlied* schildert in poetischer Form die äußere und innere Lage des Reiches, wie sie sich im Jahre 1458 darbot. Die verschiedenen Mächte und Mächtegruppen werden in seinem Karmen durch

³⁵ W. F. Semjonow, *Geschichte des Mittelalters* (deutsch Berlin 1952), 213.

³⁶ Hierzu und zum Folgenden Engels in Karl Marx / Friedrich Engels, *Werke 7* (Berlin 1960), 332 ff.

Vogelmann umschrieben, wie denn überhaupt der Autor mehr allegorisiert, als dem Verständnis—vor allem durch uns Nachfahren—gut ist. "Man sagt, die Türken sind ausgeflogen," heißt es zu Anfang; diese Feststellung ist übertrieben, wenn man bei dem Ausfliegen an einen regulären Feldzug denkt; an Grenzplänkeleien dagegen hat es in jenen Jahren zumindest in Ungarn nicht gefehlt. Der Adler—unter dem symbolträchtigen Vogel, dem wir bereits bei Behaim begegneten, werden Kaiser und Reich verstanden—dürfe daher nicht zögern, sonst werde er selbst Federn lassen müssen. Auch hätte er sich gegenüber seinen Untertanen zu schämen; denn Bürger und Bauern—sie erscheinen in der Gestalt von Zeisigen und Meisen—stünden zur Abwehr bereit (Strophe 1). Im übrigen lehre die Erfahrung, daß das Pferd seine Widerspenstigkeit aufgabe, wenn man es fest an die Kandare nehme (Strophe 2); wollte sich nur der säumige Kaiser auf seine Herrscherpflicht besinnen, so würde man der Schwierigkeiten im Reiche schon Herr werden. Doch sei Eile geboten; denn habe der Türke erst einmal Ungarn und Böhmen sich unterworfen, dann werde der Angriff auf das Reich mit Notwendigkeit folgen (Strophe 3 und 4). Von der Eule, dem Hussitenkönig Podiebrad, könne dabei der Kaiser mancherlei lernen, da die Eule sich auf die Kunst der Politik verstehe. Jedenfalls würde ein guter Politiker, das heißt in der Sprache Rosenplüts ein kluger Falkner, die Türkengefahr dazu benutzen, um der unbotmäßigen Falken, nämlich der Fürsten, Herr zu werden (Strophe 5). In einer durch Eigennutz, Treulosigkeit und Sophisterei vergifteten Welt könne eben auf Härte nicht verzichtet werden (Strophe 8 und 9), nachdem die Lässigkeit des Herrschers die Türken ermuntert habe, in den ungarischen und böhmischen Angelegenheiten aktiv zu werden (Strophe 10 und 11). Dabei fühlten sich diese sogar noch als Träger einer gewichtigen Sendung, indem sie meinten, die Hoffart der hohen Herren strafen zu müssen (Strophe 12),—die Türken galten also keineswegs nur als Menschentöter, Blutvergießer und Länderverwüster! Denn Rosenplüt übernimmt wenigstens partiell jene plebejische Einschätzung: die Geier, die adligen Herren, möchten den Meisen, den Bauern, das Blut aussaugen. Doch nicht die Türken sollen die Geier zur Räson bringen, sondern der Kaiser sei berufen, Ordnung im Reich zu schaffen (Strophe 14). Dann werde er auch erkennen, daß für das Reich der geringe Hasenbalg, der Bürger und Bauern verkörpert, mehr bedeute als der fürstliche Zobelpelz (Strophe 24; ich lasse bei meinem Resümee Gedanken aus, die in unserm Zusammenhang von minderer Bedeutung sind). Bei den Bauern, den Meisen, vor allem aber bei den Reichsstädten, den Staren, fände das Reich seine Kraft; denn die überkommene Welt sei verdorben, die Mannheit habe die Ritter verlassen, das Recht werde gebeugt, und Mäßigkeit sei bei den Geistlichen nicht mehr zu finden (Strophe 25–29). Möge daher der Kaiser erkennen, daß die Stare = Reichsstände die aufstrebende Kraft darstellen, während von den Falken = Fürsten Rettung nicht mehr zu erwarten sei (Strophe 37). Ja, Herr Adler, Ihr entehrt Eure Würde, wenn Ihr, statt die Reichsstädte zu schützen, ihren Untergang

betreibt! (Strophe 39). Darum handelt jetzt weise, wo die Stunde der Entscheidung gekommen! (Strophe 40).

Bot Mandelreiß ein Dokument der Reichspropaganda, ohne Schwung und wirkliche Anteilnahme des Verfassers, so machte sich Rosenplüt zum Sprecher und Interessenvertreter progressiver gesellschaftlicher Gruppierungen. Die Einwohner der Reichsstädte in ihrer Gesamtheit, deren Fraktionen in den angesprochenen Fragen durch gemeinsame Interessen verbunden waren, fordern von dem schlaffen Kaiser Friedrich III. eine aktive, dem Reiche und nicht dynastischen Vorteilen dienende Politik; sie treten für die Einheit des Reiches gegen die separatistische Fürstenmacht ein; sie rufen laut nach kirchlichen Reformen. Dabei hebt sich Rosenplüt unter seinen Zeitgenossen hervor, indem er die geschundenen und malträtierten Bauern als eine sich formierende politische Kraft erkennt ebenso wie die Reichsstädte, die sich als solche bereits formiert hatten. Die neuen antifeudalen Klassen sind sich ihrer Stärke voll bewußt. Rosenplüt richtet keine devoten Bitten an den Kaiser, sondern eindeutige, stichhaltig begründete Forderungen.

Daß Rosenplüt der Verfasser des Türkenliedes ist, wird heute in der Germanistik von niemandem mehr bestritten, dagegen ist die Autorschaft von "Des Turken vasnachtspil"³⁷ nicht völlig gesichert. Fastnachtsspiele hatten sich, seit dem 14. Jahrhundert belegt, im Zusammenhang mit den Fastnachtsumzügen herausgebildet, deren Gestalten ein Praecursor erklärte, der im Laufe der Entwicklung zum kommentierenden Spielführer des literarisch meist nicht sehr hochstehenden Spektakels wurde.³⁸ Das satirische Moment ist mit dem Fastnachtsspiel fest verbunden. Die Satire richtete sich auf das häusliche Leben (zänkisches Weib, geprellter Ehemann, Pantoffelheld) und bezog die Ständesatire (Spott des Stadtbürgers über Raubritter, Bettler, Mönche und Nonnen, Juden, Bauern) ein ebenso wie die politische Kritik. Rosenplüts Türkenspiel hat eine weitere Verbreitung gefunden als seine anderen Fastnachtsspiele, und zwar auch außerhalb Nürnbergs; die Aktualität seines Gegenstandes ist damit erwiesen. Als Terminus ante quem für die Entstehung ergibt sich bereits das Jahr 1456, Ort der Handlung ist die Reichsstadt Nürnberg; hier ist der Sultan erschienen, dem dafür freies Geleit erwirkt wurde.

Der Praecursor führt den Sultan ein, der, wie hervorgehoben wird, Griechenland erobert hat. Er sei aus dem fernen Orient, wo "es wohl und friedlich steht" (S. 288, Vers 10) und wo man zinsfrei auf seinem Grund und Boden sitze, "mit seinem weisen Rat" (S. 288, Vers 8) nach Nürnberg gekommen, weil er—man staune—aus den christlichen Ländern vielerlei Klagen zu hören bekam. Die Klagen kamen von den Bauern ebenso wie von den Kaufleuten, sie wandten sich gegen den Adel und seine Straßenräuberei,

³⁷ Text bei Adelbert Keller, *Fastnachtsspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, 1 (Stuttgart 1853), 288 ff.

³⁸ Joachim G. Boeckh u.a., *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von 1480 bis 1600* (Berlin 1961), 83 ff.

der nur mit harten Maßregeln begegnet werden könne. Der Sultan, so informiert der Sprecher weiter, sei, wenn man sich an ihn wende, bereit, für Frieden und Ordnung zu sorgen, ohne daß deshalb der christliche Glaube der Bittsteller angetastet werden würde; ein solches Vorgehen entsprach bekanntlich der türkischen Praxis in den unterworfenen Gebieten. Auf den Praecursor folgte ein Ritter. Dieser erklärte die Angebote des Sultans für bloße Köder, um dem Eindringling das Einnisten zu erleichtern; wer an ihn und seinen Gott glaube, der sei "des Himmelreichs beraubt" (S. 290, Vers 15). Ein Rat des Sultans verweist demgegenüber auf die gottgewollten Erfolge seines Herrn, so zum Beispiel die Einnahme des Kaiserreichs von Trapezunt. Im weiteren Verlauf des Stücks tritt dann der Sultan selber auf. Er sei nicht gekommen, um Krieg zu führen und um zu betrügen, sondern weil ihn gelehrt Bücher dazu trieben. In diesen stehe geschrieben, daß das Unglück der Christen anheben werde, wenn die Armen um ihr Recht und Gut gebracht würden, wenn die Satten sich der Hungernden nicht mehr erbarmten, Gelehrsamkeit zur Täuschung verwendet würde und die Herren den Bauern keine Ruhe mehr ließen. Die Nachrichten, die ihn erreichten, ließen den Schluß zu, daß dieser Zeitpunkt gekommen sei, daß sich der Christengott abkehre und eine allgemeine Umwälzung bevorstehe. Er brauche daher nicht Gewalt anzuwenden, sondern könne sich auf die Kraft der Überzeugung verlassen; denn es sei gewiß, daß der Gott der Türken, wenn sie sich ihm zuwendeten, alle Übel von ihnen nehmen würde (S. 295, Vers 10).

Aber auch die Meinung des Papstes wird vernommen; sie ist weniger apokalyptisch, sondern sehr konkret. Der Heilige Vater werde, so referiert sein Abgesandter, sich die Klagen über die Türken nicht länger anhören, sondern den Sultan mit dem Bann und anderen Strafen belegen. Dem widerspricht ein Rat des Sultans. Sein Herr sei nicht gekommen, um die Kirche zu zerstören, wohl aber, um Mißstände zu beseitigen: Ungerechtigkeit der Richter, Verworfenheit der Beamten, Wucher der Juden, Üppigkeit der Pfaffen. Der Sultan werde "eine rechte Reformation" ("ein rechte reformatzen," S. 297, Vers 5) durchführen; der Begriff erscheint hier ein halbes Jahrhundert vor dem Auftreten Luthers, geläufig jedoch durch die radikale Flugschrift "Reformatio Sigismundi" vom Jahre 1439,³⁹ in der ähnlichen Forderungen wie bei Rosenplüt laut wurden. Der Abgesandte des Kaisers, der nunmehr das Wort nimmt, vermag darauf nur mit Beschimpfungen und Strafan drohungen zu antworten; doch wird auch ihm aus dem Gefolge des Sultans die gebührende Abfuhr zuteil. Schließlich erscheint noch ein Emissär der Kurfürsten und geht sogleich zum rhetorischen Angriff über, indem er die bei der Einnahme Konstantinopels geschehenen Greuel anprangert. Dafür, daß Unschuldige getötet, Priester gemordet und Frauen geschändet worden seien, müsse Sühne geleistet

³⁹ Leo Stern-Erhard Voigt, *Deutschland in der Feudal epocha von der Mitte des 13. Jh. bis zum ausgehenden 15. Jh.* (Berlin 1965), 256 ff.

werden. Doch der türkische Sprecher hat ein Gegenargument; die Kurfürsten bei ihrem Wohlleben, das nur die Ausbeutung der Bauern ermöglichte, hätten allen Grund, stille zu sein und vor der eigenen Türe zu kehren.

Das Spiel geht zu Ende, ohne daß nach so vielen Worten ein faßbares Ergebnis zustande gekommen wäre. Der Rat der Reichsstadt Nürnberg versichert Kaiser, Fürsten und Adelsherren zum Trotz die Türken des freien Geleits. Der Sultan bedankt sich für dieses Entgegenkommen und lädt seinerseits die "ehrsamen, weisen Bürger" (S. 302, Vers 8) zu einem Gegenbesuch in seinem Reiche ein.

Rosenplüts Dichtungen ließen deutlich werden, daß die Minderprivilegierten unter den Bürgern des Heiligen Römischen Reiches deutscher Nation in den Türken keineswegs nur blindwütige Eroberer und Feinde der Christenheit zu erblicken vermochten; vielmehr gemahnte die Bedrohung von außen sehr nachdrücklich an die gesellschaftlichen Widersprüche im Innern. Die Opposition und die plebejische zu allererst bildete sich daher ihr eigenes Urteil über die Weltlage und zog daraus ihre eigenen Schlußfolgerungen. Mit deren weiterem Vordringen sanken freilich die Hoffnungen auf die Türken zunehmend dahin. Rosenplüt fand mit seinen politischen Fastnachtsspielen keine Nachfolge.⁴⁰

Wir hatten über den Widerhall des Jahres 1453 in deutschen Quellen zu informieren. Diese sprachen übereinstimmend von Konstantinopel, niemals von Neurom.

Berlin, DDR

⁴⁰ Albrecht a.a.O. 551.

Mehmed the Conqueror and the Equestrian Statue of the Augustaion*

J. RABY

One of the landmarks of Constantinople was the colossal equestrian statue which stood on top of a hundred-foot-high column outside Hagia Sophia. Known as the Augustaion from the square in which it stood, the bronze statue was erected by Justinian, although in all probability it was not his own but a re-used work of Theodosius I or II. The statue's size alone—some 27 feet in height—would have ensured its fame, but it was particularly esteemed as a symbol of Byzantine dominion and a talisman of the City. Christianity's triumph over the world was signified by the *globus cruciger* which the rider held in his left hand, while with his extended right he was believed to gesture apotropaically towards the Orient, commanding the Eastern enemy, successively Sasanians, Arabs and Turks, to stay back behind the Byzantine border. The statue was so prominent, its symbolic and magical character for the Christians of Constantinople so commonly acknowledged, that it is hardly surprising it failed to survive under the Turks.¹

*I would like to express my sincere thanks to Professor C. Mango and Professor V. Ménage for their criticism and help.

¹ For a review of the sources: F. W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, I (Vienna 1878), pp. 137–46; *idem*, "Über die vier kolossalen Säulen in Constantinopel," *Repertorium für Kunsthissenschaften* 2 (1879), 109–37. P. W. Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider," *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959), 40, note 5, gives a bibliography to supplement Unger's. See further C. Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen 1959), pp. 174–80; G. Bovini, "Giustiniano sul cavallo di Teodosio," *Felix Ravenna* 3 (1963), 132–37; J. P. A. van der Vin, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople. Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travellers' Tales*, vol. II (Istanbul 1980), *passim*. The Turkish legend of the "Red Apple" was no doubt prompted by the gilded orb held by the equestrian statue of Justinian. As most travellers to Constantinople attested, the orb symbolized world dominion; dominion could thus be achieved by capturing Constantinople and the orb. After the Ottomans captured Constantinople, the legend was transferred to other cities such as Budapest and, most importantly, Rome: F. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford 1929), II, pp.

Some time between 1544 and 1550 Peter Gyllius saw fragments of the statue, which he claimed had long been kept in a courtyard of the Sultan's palace, being transported to a cannon-foundry, which was presumably the one at Tophane;² and he furtively measured a few of these *disjecta membra*, the rider's nose and the horse's hooves being nine inches long, the rider's leg taller than Gyllius himself. It has never been satisfactorily explained how the statue came to be removed to the imperial Saray. The answer, however, is to be found not in European or Greek, but in Ottoman, sources.

Until recently the statue was believed to have been taken down from its column by Mehmed the Conqueror soon after the Fall of the City. This belief was based on a drawing in a fifteenth-century humanist miscellany now in Budapest, which depicts a Byzantine rider holding a *globus cruciger* in his left hand and gesturing with his right (Fig. 1). An inscription on the preceding folio identifies it as the work of Giovanni Dario and Cyriacus of Ancona, and allegedly dates it post-Conquest; Cyriacus, regarded as one of Sultan Mehmed's tutors before the Fall, is argued to have accompanied Mehmed into the City and there helped Dario to record the statue. Both the angle and detail of the drawing were held to prove that the monument was

736–40; E. Rossi, "La leggenda turco-bizantina del Pomo Rosso," *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 5 (1937), 542–53; M. (?) Dukas (*Ducae, Michaelis Ducae Nepotis, Historia Byzantina*, ed. E. Becker, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* [Bonn 1834], p. 300) claims that the Turks nailed a severed head, believed to be that of Emperor Constantine, on the column, thereby, perhaps, expressing their contempt for this Christian talisman.

²P. Gyllius, *De topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatibus libri quattuor* (Leyden 1561), p. 104, Bk. II, ch. xvii: "Barbari enim omni aereo vestitu, & equo, & statua columnam Iustiniani spoliarunt, aliquotque annos nuda remansit. Tandem (105) ante triginta annos eversa est tota usque ad stylobatem, quem anno superiore funditus vidi excindi, ex cuius crepidinibus aqua saliebat fistulis in magnū labrum, nunc stylobatae loco, castellū aquae latius constructum est, & fistulæ auctæ, euestrem Iustiniani statuam, quam modò dixi supra hanc columnam fuisse collocatam, servatam diu in Claustro regij Palatij deportari nuper vidi in caminos, quibus metalla funduntur in machinas bellicas, inter quae erat Iustiniani crus proceritate mean statuam superans, & nasus dodrāte longior. Crura equi ad terram proiecta metiri non potui, pedis ungulam mensus sum occulte, & reprehendi dodrantalis esse altitudinis" (my italics). John Ball, trans., *The Antiquities of Constantinople, in 4 Books* (London 1729), ch. xvii: "[This ill treatment of Theodosius by Justinian, was revenged upon him by the Barbarians]; for they used his Pillar in the same Manner, and stripped it of the Statue, the Horse, and the Brass wherewith it was covered, so that it was only a bare Column for some Years. About thirty Years ago the whole Shaft was taken down to the Pedestal, and that, about a year since, was demolished down to the Basis, from whence I observed a Spring to spout up with Pipes, into a large Cistern. At present there stands in the same Place a Water-House, and the Pipes are enlarged. I lately saw the Equestrian Statue of Justinian, erected upon the Pillar which stood here, and (130) which had been preserved a long Time in the Imperial Precinct, carried into the melting Houses, where they cast their ordnance. Among the fragments were the Leg of Justinian, which exceeded my Height, and his Nose, which was above nine Inches long. I dared not publickly measure the Horse's Legs, as they lay upon the Ground, but privately measured one of the Hoofs, and found it to be nine Inches in Height."

sketched from close, so that it must have been removed from its elevated pedestal, and by inference also destroyed, on Mehmed's orders.³

This reconstruction is no longer tenable, however, since the discovery that Cyriacus was never Mehmed's tutor and that the entire theory of their relationship derives from a banal misreading of a scribal abbreviation in the manuscript of Zorzi Dolfin's Chronicle. In all probability Cyriacus died in Cremona in 1452, which dates the Budapest drawing to before the Conquest.⁴ Moreover, the statue need not have been taken down to be sketched, because repairs took place some time between 1427 and 1437/8 when Cyriacus and Dario could well have climbed the scaffolding and recorded the statue *in situ*.⁵

Although the Budapest drawing is of no relevance in proving that Mehmed II removed the statue, a second piece of evidence seems to implicate the Sultan in its destruction. In his *Diario di viaggio*, Gian-Maria Angiolello, who was captured by the Turks at Negroponte in 1470 and served in the imperial households first of Prince Mustafa and then of the Sultan himself, relates how Mehmed, heeding the advice of his astrologers and divines, destroyed a statue of "San Agostino" which stood outside Santa Sophia. The statue, he was advised, was a danger to the Ottomans, for as a talisman of Byzantium it would ensure the triumph of Christianity. It is impossible, of course, that a likeness of Saint Augustine should have survived into Palaeologan times, let alone that orthodox Byzantines, from whom Mehmed's advisers presumably derived their claim, should have regarded it as a Palladium of their city. *San Agostino* must be Angiolello's or his informer's gloss on *Augustaion*, a monument he had evidently not seen:

Ancora per mezzo la porta di Santa Sofia vi è una colona lavorata di pezzi assai alta, sopra la quale era l'immagine di Santo Agostino fatta di bronzo, la quale fu levata via dal Gran Turco, perchè dicevano li suoi Astrologhi et indovini, che insino che la detta statua di Sant' Agostino starà sopra la detta colona, li Cristiani sempre haverano possanza contro i Maomettani; e così

³ E. Jacobs, "Cyriacus von Ancona und Mehemed II," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929–30), 200; F. Babinger, "Johannes Darius (1414–94) Sachwalter Venedigs im Morgenland, und sein griechischer Umkreis," Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, *Sitzungsberichte* 5 (1961), 75–78; M. Vickers, "Theodosius, Justinian or Heraclius," *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976), 281.

⁴ J. Raby, "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980), 242–46.

⁵ Unger (1879; above, note 1), p. 135; C. Mango, "Letter to the Editor," *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959), 353; A. Vasiliev, "Pero Tafur, a Spanish Traveller of the Fifteenth century and his visit to Constantinople, Trebizond and Italy," *Byzantium* 7 (1932), 105; M. Letts, tr., *The travels and adventures of Pero Tafur* (London 1926), pp. 140–41. Several MSS of Buondelmonti's *De Insulis*—not just the Marburg MS, as Lehmann (above, note 1), 54—have an emended text which indicates that the column was scaled and an inscription on the horse deciphered: cf. Bodleian Canon. Misc. 280, f. 54^r and Marciana It. cl. X 124; on the latter Mango (above, note 1), p. 174, note 4. On Bod. Canon. Misc. 280, C. Mitchell, "Ex libris Kiriaci Anconitani," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 5 (1962), 283–99.

fu levata via la detta colona. Ancora nel fondo di quella vi è una bella fonte, la quale gietta in un lavello per tre canoni di metallo acqua suavissima.⁶

Angiolello's account is contradicted, however, by Hartmann Schedel, who in his *Liber cronicarum*, first published in 1493, records that the equestrian statue was damaged by lightning in the great storm of 12th July 1490, and as if by way of proof Schedel includes a woodcut of the scene (Fig. 2).⁷ Lightning certainly struck the church known by the Turks as Gün Görmez Kilisesi, which was being used as a powder store and which blew up causing great damage, but there is no mention, *pace* Schedel, in either Ottoman or Christian sources of storm damage to the statue.⁸ Nevertheless, Schedel claims to have derived his account from Venetian merchants trading in Istanbul, and such a source would appear to deserve some credence.

The impasse between Angiolello and Schedel can be resolved by recourse to the Ottoman sources, which are unanimous in bearing out Angiolello. The most detailed account is by the late fifteenth-century author Derviş Şemseddin Mehmed Karamani, in a Turkish version of his *Tarih-i Ayasofya*.⁹ The passage concerns the dying injunction of the Emperor Estuyanos (Justinian) to his nephew. This included the building of a tall column opposite Ayasofya and the making of a "bronze" (*bakır*) statue of Estuyanos riding a horse. The statue was to carry a gold globe in one hand,

⁶ A. Capparozzo, ed., *Di Gio. Maria Angiolello e di un suo inedito manoscritto* (Nozze Lampertico-Balbi) (Vicenza 1881), p. 21; J. Reinhard, *Essai sur J. M. Angiolello* (Angers 1913), p. 167 gives a résumé of the Vicenza MS. The passage does not appear in the section on Constantinople in the standard edition of Angiolello, ed. I. Ursu, *Donado da Lezze, Historia Turchesca (1300–1514)* (Bucharest 1909), pp. 158–64, esp. 160–61, a section which is for the most part derived from Buondelmonti's description.

⁷ H. Schedel, *Liber cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab initio mundi* (Nuremberg 1493), fol. CCLVII^r; L. Baer, *Die illustrierten Historienbücher des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg im Elsass 1903); V. von Loga, "Die Städteansichten in Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik," *Jahrbuch der (königlichen) Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 9 (1888), 93–107, 184–96; C. Jenkins, "Dr. Hartmann Schedel and his book," *Mediaeval Studies presented to Rose Graham*, ed. V. Rutter and A. J. Taylor (Oxford 1950), pp. 98–137; J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople Byzantine et les Voyageurs du Levant* (Paris 1919), p. 78, note 3; Lehmann (1959, above note 1), 40, note 8.

⁸ Oruç Bey, *Die fröhomanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch, nach den Handschriften zu Oxford und Cambridge*, Quellenwerke des islamischen Schrifttums II (Hanover 1925), p. 136, line 4; R. F. Kreutel, *Der fromme Sultan Bayezid* (Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber Band 9) (Graz, Wien, Köln 1978), p. 51; Mango (above, note 1), pp. 180–82.

⁹ The complex problems of the various legendary histories of Ayasofya are discussed by F. Tauer, "Notice sur les versions persanes de la légende de l'édition d'Aya Sofya," *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı. Mélanges Fuad Köprülü* (Istanbul 1953), pp. 487–94; P. Wittek, "Miscellanea," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 14 (1964), 263–72. The Persian versions are summarized by F. Tauer, "Les versions persanes de la légende de la construction d'Aya Sofya," *Byzantinoslavica* 15 (1954), 16–18. For Estunyus fulfilling his uncle's order, see also Hoca Sadreddin, *Tac üt Tevarih* (Istanbul 1279/1861–2), I, p. 441; ed. I. Parmaksızoglu, *Hoca Sadreddin Efendi, Tac üt Tevârih* (Istanbul 1974–), II, p. 303; G. de Tassy, "Description de la ville de Constantinople, traduite du turc de Saad-uddin," *Journal Asiatique* 5 (1824), 144.

while the other hand was to be open, the globe signifying to onlookers his control of the world. Estuyanos dies, and the passage reads:¹⁰

çün Estünyüşa memleket-i tāc u taht müyesser oldu 'ammı īsiniň vaş iyyetin ilizām idüb Ayasöfiya mukabelesinde ol 'alī mīlī büny ād idüb tamām kıldı. ve 'ammisiniň heykelini ust ādlara bākirdan düzdürdü ve ol mīlīn üzerinde berkitdi, şöyl(e)kim anuñ gibi heybetlü şüreti 'ālemde kimesne görmemis idi. Bakır āt ol şüret ile tā bizim zamānumuza degeñ mevcūd idi. Onu gammazlar gamz idüb söziyle Sultan Mehemmed Hān Gāzī (rahmat Allāh 'alayhi rahmatan wāsi'atan) yıkdırdı ve ol şüretleriň bākırından 'alī töbər yápdırdı. Amma mīl henüz Ayasöfiya muğabelesinde hāli üzere mevcüddur.

When Estunyus [Justin II, 565–578 A.D.] was favored with the kingdom of the throne and crown he undertook the injunction of his uncle and constructed that tall column, opposite Ayasofya, and completed it. He had craftsmen cast the statue of his uncle from “copper” [bronze] and he secured it to the top of that column, with the result that no-one had seen as majestic a statue in the world. The “copper horse” [bakır at] existed in that form until our present time. Story-mongers gossiped about it and on their word Sultan Mehemed Han Gazi (may God's extensive mercy be upon him) had it pulled down; and from the copper of those statues he had splendid cannons made, but the column is still standing as it had been opposite Ayasofya.

The correspondence between Şemseddin's and Angiolello's account is striking, all the more if one believes that there is little to distinguish astrologers and story-mongers.

Neither Angiolello nor Şemseddin, however, provides a date for the removal or destruction of the statue. This omission is made good by Aşikpaşazade, the source for Neşri. According to Aşikpaşazade, Mehmed had the “copper horse,” together with crosses and bells—other potent symbols of Christianity as well as sources of bronze—melted down and turned into ordnance in preparation for his siege of Belgrade in 1456. In other words, the Augustaion was removed from its column some time between June 1453 and the winter of 1455–56.¹¹

Schedel's reference to the statue's survival in 1490 is nothing more than a “pious fiction,” although it is not clear whether Schedel or his Venetian informants were guilty of the fabrication. Such a fiction nonetheless testifies to the fascination the statue exerted on contemporaries, Christians

¹⁰ Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library, Revan 1498, fol. 37B–38A; cf. İstanbul University Library, TY 259 f. 50A.

¹¹ Aşikpaşazade: *Die Altosmanischen Chroniken des 'Aşikpaşazade*, ed. F. Giese (Leipzig 1929), 138 ch. 127; *Tevārih-i Āl-i 'Osmān: 'Aşikpaşazade Tā'rīħī*, ed. 'Alī Bey (İstanbul 1332/1914), 147; in Ç. N. Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihleri*, I (İstanbul 1949), pp. 196–97; ed. and trans. R. F. Kreutel, *Vom Hirtenzelt zur hohen Pforte, Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber*, III (Graz, etc. 1959), p. 206.

and Turks alike. For the Christians of Istanbul and Galata there was profit in perpetuating the talisman's existence, or at least its memory; while for the newly settled Turks the marvels of the City—the copper horse, and that other celebrated talisman, the Serpent Column, and the various monumental stone columns and obelisks—were so awe-inspiring that continual reference is made to them in the Legendary History of Constantinople which was incorporated into the Anonymous Chronicles.¹²

Angiolello and Şemseddin differ, however, over the fate of the column itself, which Angiolello states was removed and Derviş Şemseddin claims was left standing. Angiolello appears to have mistakenly conflated the removal of the statue and the column, whereas in reality the column survived into the first decades of the sixteenth century. According to Gyllius, the Turks fully dismantled the column, as far as the stylobate, thirty years prior to his writing (1544–50).¹³ Turkish sources suggest the column collapsed during either Selim's (1512–20) or Süleyman's (1520–1566) reign,¹⁴ and indeed the column is no longer visible in Matrakçı Nasuh's city-view of Istanbul of 944/1537–38.¹⁵

Mehmed had no part, therefore, in the disappearance of the Augustaion column, although he did remove its statue. Despite his error Angiolello must be referring to the "Augustaion Rider," because not only does he

¹² F. Giese, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken. Teil I, Text und Variantenverzeichnis* (Breslau 1922), pp. 74–111; *Teil II, Übersetzung* (Leipzig 1925), pp. 101–48.

¹³ For Gyllius, see note 2 above.

¹⁴ Ali al-Arabi, writing in 970/1562–63, claims that the column was destroyed under Süleyman (Istanbul, Bayezid Library, MS Cevdet K284, fol. 156 ff. I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor Ménage). A late recension of the Anonymous Chronicles (W3) refers to another column "collapsing suddenly [*ansızın yıkıldı*] one night during the time of Sultan Selim [1512–1520]." This is described as surmounted by a cross, and must be the Column of Constantine in the Forum of Constantine, which was given a cross finial in the mid-twelfth century by Manuel I Comnenus. As this column, known as *Çemberlitas*, is still standing, the recension of the Anonymous Chronicles is in error, and presumably intended to refer to the Augustaion column: Giese (1922, above, note 12), p. 94, line 17, and apparatus p. 297; and Giese (1925, above, note 12), p. 126. *Yıkıldı* could mean "dismantled," but the qualification "suddenly" makes this translation unlikely. Night would have been a perverse and dangerous time for workmen to have dismantled such immense columns. As in the case of the Serpent Column, therefore, the Turks were accused by Europeans of destructiveness, when the blame in fact rested with nature. According to Gyllius, the Ottomans stripped the column of its bronze cladding, but this had already been removed by the Crusaders of 1204: Unger (1879, above, note 1), 135. Hoca Sadreddin, in the *Tac üt Tevârih*, which he dedicated to Murad III in 982/1575, states that the statue of the "copper horse" was standing "until recently" (*yakın zamana deðin*) (see above, note 9).

¹⁵ W. Denny, "A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul," *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970), 49–63. The Augustaion column is visible in O. Panvinio's view of the Hippodrome (Fig. 3) and in the first editions of the so-called Vavassore view of Istanbul. Although it was first published in 1600 (*De ludis circensisibus*, Venice), Panvinio's view must date from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. It cannot, however, be earlier than 1491, since it depicts what can only be the Firuz Ağa Mosque, which was built in that year: K. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Tübingen 1977), pp. 70–71; Mango (above, note 1), p. 180.

describe the statue as bronze, on a high column outside the entrance to Hagia Sophia, but he mentions a fountain at the base of the column; and a fountain is attested at the stylobate of the Augustaion column by Gyllius. Several recensions, notably L and W3, of the Anonymous Chronicles also mention a fountain in connection with the "copper horse."¹⁶

There is no evidence that the Augustaion statue was destroyed as part of a deliberate campaign by the Sultan against the monuments of Byzantium.¹⁷ On the contrary, Mehmed made a rich collection of Byzantine sculpture which he gathered within the precincts of the Saray, including almost all the imperial porphyry sarcophagi from the Church of the Holy Apostles, the honorific stele of Porphyrius the charioteer, the statue of the *Wise Judges*, and the miraculous marble toad of Leo the Wise; while he also formed a collection of Christian relics the envy of any Western power.¹⁸ Nor was the Augustaion melted down merely to satisfy an omnivorous demand for war materials, for Mehmed preserved the *bronze Serpent Column*, and even ensured its future safety by having a threatening mulberry tree cauterized to its roots.¹⁹

Yet whereas the Serpent Column was a beneficent talisman in Turkish eyes, and safeguarded the City from snakes, the "copper horse" they considered a potential threat. Whether or not Mehmed himself believed in the magical efficacy of the horse, there was sufficient Turkish pressure to

¹⁶ Giese (1922, above, note 12), p. 82, esp. line 6; Giese (1925, above, note 12), p. 110. W3, for example, reads: "(Yanık o bin Mâdyân) bir ülû mil yaptırdı beş yüz arşun mikdârı şimdiki hâilde Ayasofya öñündeki çeşme üzerindeki bağıır ât mîli kim vardır . . ."; A. Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille 1892), p. 64, no. 116, identified a sheet of iron over the entrance to a cistern as the site of the former Augustaion column.

¹⁷ Sadreddin (see above, note 9) claims that the "copper horse" and other similar monuments were removed by Mehmed. Dervîş Şemseddin also talks of "statues" (in the plural) providing metal for Mehmed's cannon. There is little evidence, however, of similar statues extant in Constantinople just before the Fall. Three bronze statues of "Saracen Kings" on columns near the Augustaion column are mentioned by Russian pilgrims to Constantinople in 1390 and 1420, but they had apparently been removed by 1432: Mango (above, note 1), p. 175; B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva 1889), pp. 202, 228.

¹⁸ On Byzantine sculpture found in the Saray, C. Mango, "Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi Discovered in 1750," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962), 397–402; *idem*, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments. III," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23–24 (1969–70), 372–75; Müller-Wiener (above, note 15), p. 39, with additional bibliography; cf. C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," *Zbornik Radova, Recueil des Travaux de l'Académie Serbe des Sciences. Institut d'Études Byzantines* 6 (1960), 59–93, esp. 74–75. F. Babinger, "Reliquienschacher am Osmanenhof im XV. Jahrhundert," Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, *Sitzungsberichte* 2 (1956), overlooks A. Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant* (Lyons 1554), fol. 635^r, ch. 139, claiming that he heard from a 105-year-old Greek Bishop near Epirus that Mehmed, according to Gennadios, kept several relics from Hagia Sophia "dans son cabinet." For a review of Babinger, see U. Heyd, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 107 (1957), 654–56.

¹⁹ V. L. Ménage, "The Serpent Column in Ottoman Sources," *Anatolian Studies* 14 (1964), 169–73; R. M. Dawkins, "Ancient Statues in Mediaeval Constantinople," *Folklore* 35 (1924), 209–48 and 380; J. Ebersolt (above, note 7), *passim*, but esp. pp. 130, 162, note 2; Capparozzo (above, note 6), pp. 21–22.

have the statue destroyed. The Greeks of the city countered by claiming that the Augustaion was a talisman, not this time against the Eastern enemy, but against the plague. Only by stressing that it was protective of the entire community, Turks included, could the Greeks hope to save their statue. The Greek claim was evidently known to the Turks, for the *Anonymous Chronicles* refer to a copper horse with plague-repelling powers; ". . . some say that copper horse was a talisman, whereby, according to the belief of the Infidels, plague would not enter Istanbul, as long as that copper horse was standing." According to the late and doubtless ingenuous account of the Greek Patriarch Jeremias II (d. 1595), the Sultan, when he learnt that the statue was a defence against the plague, tried to have it restored, though he failed for lack of skilled craftsmen.²⁰

The Ottomans destroyed one of the greatest of Byzantine sculptures before their unsuccessful siege of Belgrade. Exactly 70 years later, after their successful conquest of Ofen in 1526, the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Paşa brought back to Istanbul several bronze statues which had originally been commissioned by Matthias Corvinus from the Florentine-trained Giovanni Dalmata—one of Hercules, the others of Diana and Apollo—and placed them on columns in front of his palace, that is on the Atmeydan, only a short distance from the former site of the Augustaion. These statues did not survive long, and their summary fate provoked Gyllius' remark that the Turks were *acerrimi hostes statuarum, & totius artis Vitruvianae.*²¹

As if by way of confirmation, only a few years ago a massive statue of a recumbent female nude, the personification of *Güzel İstanbul*, was hurriedly removed after protest from the crossroads at Karaköy and relegated to an obscure corner of Yıldız Park.

Postscript

The fifteenth-century sources are unequivocal that the "Augustaion Rider" was melted down and converted into cannon. Yet little under a century later

²⁰ Giese, see above, note 14. I. Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidorum a Turcis sua lingua scripti*, etc. (Frankfurt 1588), pp. 43–44, *Pandectes* 130 (*Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1866, vol. 159, cols. 820–821), who translates a W3 text of the *Anonymous Chronicles*, also attributes in his commentary plague-protective powers to the statue: Ménage (above, note 19), 170, note 11; Jeremias' account is recorded by Lubenau: W. Sahm, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau* (Mittheilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg in Pr. IV–V, 1914), I, pp. 141–42. Mehmed was said to have destroyed the statue himself, just as he was accused of damaging the jaw of one of the serpents of the Serpent Column: Ménage (1964, above, note 19). In nineteenth-century Athens the Kolanaki was still regarded as a talisman against the plague: Dawkins (above, note 19), 229.

²¹ P. Gyllius (above, note 2), II, pp. 89–90. J. v. Karabacek, "Miniatür des Persers Behzad des Jüngeren," *Zur orientalischen Altertumskunde IV—Muhammedanische Kunstdenkschriften*, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-hist. Klasse, *Sitzungsberichte* 172, Abh.1 (Vienna 1913), 85 ff. Ibrahim Paşa's statues are also mentioned in Sehi Bey's Tekzere, although not in the Şukri edition, but the Istanbul University Library MS cited by O. Rescher, *Türkische Dichterbiographien I: Sehi's Tekzere* (Istanbul 1942), pp. 128, 142. For Ibrahim's Palace, N. Atasoy, *Ibrahim Paşa Sarayı* (Istanbul 1972).

Gyllius saw large fragments of the statue being taken from the Saray for precisely the same purpose. It is clear that Gyllius refers to the Topkapi Sarayı when he talks of the statue being kept in the "Courtyard of the Royal Palace." The Topkapi Sarayı was not, however, built at the time of Mehmed's Belgrade campaign in 1456. There are two puzzles, then. First, how did a statue which Mehmed, we are told, had destined for the melting-pot, survive his reign, at least in fragments. And, second, was the statue removed from the column directly to the area that was to become the First Court of the Topkapi Sarayı, or was it, more intriguingly, brought there only after the establishment of the palace in the 1460s? In the latter event, it must have found a temporary home elsewhere, perhaps at the Eski Saray, before being transferred to the Yeni (Topkapi) Sarayı.²²

Even partial preservation of the statue suggests that the fragments meant more to the Sultan than a convenient supply of metal. Transfer of the statue's fragments from one site to another argues that they had some significance for him. The simplest explanation is that they were preserved as evidence of the destruction of this powerful Christian talisman. However, given Mehmed's careful collection of other examples of Byzantine statuary, one must ask whether the "Augustaion Rider" did not form part of that collection; if, indeed, he did not attempt to preserve it intact. There is no doubt that Mehmed removed the statue from the column, but can we be certain that Mehmed destroyed it? Angiolello merely says that it was *levata via* by the Sultan.²³ The statue was, however, so massive that it could not have been displayed openly, in the First Court for example, without observers such as Angiolello or Promontorio de Campis taking notice of it.²⁴

There are, then, numerous unsolved questions about Mehmed's treatment of the Augustaion statue. Perhaps the Patriarch Jeremias II's account of Mehmed's efforts to repair the statue is not as ingenuous as one first supposed.

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²² There can be no doubt that Gyllius (Bk. I, ch.vii) refers to the Topkapi Sarayı, which he calls the "Regium Claustrum." The Eski Saray is termed by Gyllius (Bk. III, ch. vi) the "Palatum Gynaeconitidum Regiarum" "The Palace of the Imperial Harem."

²³ A compromise hypothesis—that the statue was only partially destroyed by Mehmed, the rider being melted down, while the mount was left unharmed—is feasible technically because Antique equestrian statues were constructed in sections: Bovini (above, note 1). That the "Augustaion rider" was so constructed is evident from the fact that the rider's headdress and the orb are recorded at various times as being blown down in high winds: C. Mango, *Art Bulletin* (1959, above, note 5); Unger (1879, above, note 1), 135. However, Gyllius (see above, note 2) measured fragments both of the rider—his leg and nose, the latter more than nine inches long—and of the horse.

²⁴ For Angiolello, see above, note 6. F. Babinger, "Die Aufzeichnungen des genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio-de Campis über den Osmanenstaat um 1475," Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, *Sitzungsberichte*, Jahrg. 1956, 8. Heft (Munich 1957).



Figure 1. Drawing c. 1436 by Cyriacus of Ancona and Giovanni Dario of the equestrian statue of Justinian, from a humanist miscellany. Budapest, University library, MS 35, fol.144v.

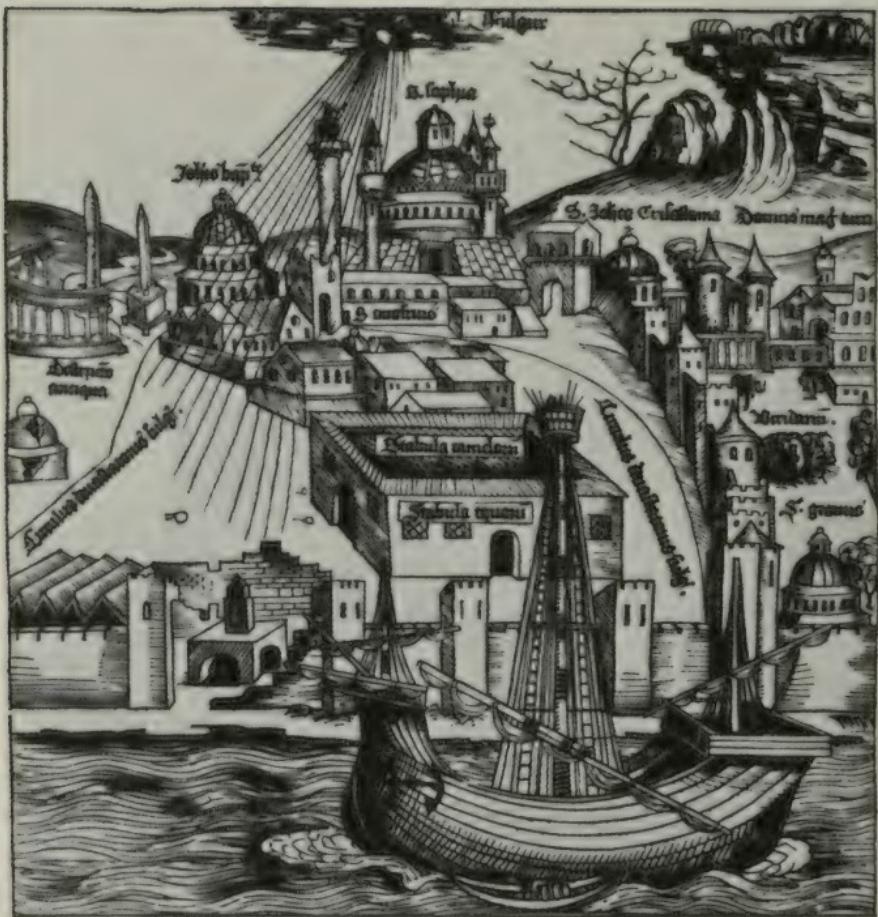


Figure 2. Woodcut view of the Saray and Ayasofya, with the Augstaion column and the statue of Justinian being struck by lightning on 12 July 1490. From Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Cronicarum etc.*, Nuremberg 1493.

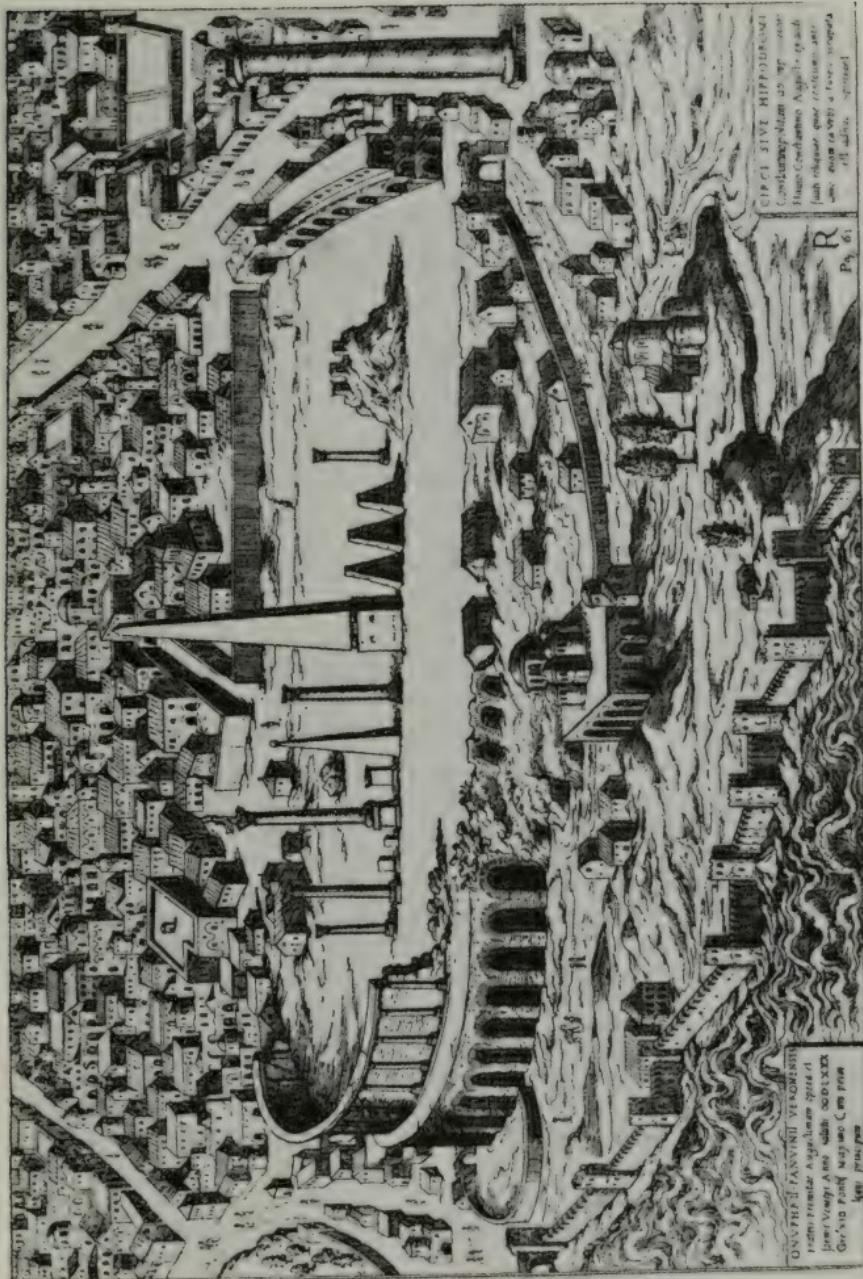


Figure 3. Woodcut view, based on an original of about 1500 A.D., of the Atmeydan, showing the Augustaion column, without its equestrian statue, on the right. Published in O. Panvinio, *De ludiis circensisibus*, Venice 1600.

Domitian, Justinian and Peter the Great: The Ambivalent Iconography of the Mounted King

J. K. NEWMAN

I. The Ruler-Charioteer

"Ἐγρεο, Κωνσταντῖνε· τί χάλκεον ὕπνον ίαύεις;
 σείσ διφρους ποθέει δῆμος ἐνὶ σταδίοις,
 σῆς τε διδασκαλίης ἐπιδενέες ἡνιοχῆς
 εἴσται ὄρφανικοῖς παισὶν ὁμοιότατοι.

Rulers as chariot drivers are familiar from Egypt. In the fourteenth century B.C. they were already a *topos*. Arpag Mekhitarian notes of a coffer showing an ailing monarch in horsy company:

The chariot we reproduce figures in a battle-scene: a subject banned in the days of the pacifist king Akhenaten, but in high favor under the new régime—though that poor consumptive Tutankhamen had hardly strength enough to drag himself about the palace gardens. Against the ivory-yellow ground the pair of huge red horses with their decorative plumes and streamers, black and yellow caparisons, are trampling down the defeated Syrians. . . . The Pharaoh is majestic power incarnate. . . . The ardor of the fray is well conveyed by the galloping horses, a massive diagonal slashing through the tangled mass of combatants.¹

Whether the Egyptian painting was intended in some way to combat and deny the youthful Pharaoh's mortal illness (d. 1350) is not clear, although it was of course found in his tomb. But eventually the chariot was, as the story of Elijah shows, a means to overcome death itself.² The

¹ See "Battle Scene: Tutankhamen Fighting the Syrians," from a decorated coffer preserved in Cairo, in *Egyptian Painting*, text by Arpag Mekhitarian (Skira, Geneva 1954), p. 118. The quotation is drawn from the commentary on pp. 121–23.

² This is why Virgil shows the blessed dead as engaged in athletics: *arma procul currusque virum miratur inanis*, *Aen.* VI. 651: cf. E. Norden's note on 653, referring to Pindar and to

Byzantines cherished this old idea. A tenth-century seal now in the Hermitage bears on its reverse a picture of the Ascension of Alexander the Great. Quite unlike the traditional iconography of the Ascension of Christ, he is shown standing in a chariot drawn by two winged griffins, and holding in either hand a bar to which the bait is attached.³ A silver bowl dating from the twelfth century, also in Leningrad, shows this scene in company with eleven others, arranged under arches,⁴ that include a musician, two figures of mounted riders and a dancing girl. On another twelfth-century bowl "musicians, dancers, acrobats" and others surround no longer an earthly champion, but a mounted St. George.⁵

The religious connection between the ruler and the victory-bringing chariot of the circus (hippodrome), so evident in Byzantine art and ceremony,⁶ has therefore deep roots, in the near East generally, but also in the Greco-Roman past. Everyone will immediately think of Nero.⁷ But Syracusean coinage both of the Deinomenids and later had exploited the concept of the chariot of state used also by Plato, and comically suggested by Aristophanes.⁸ In Greek poetry, the association is at least as old, for

Herodotus VI. 103. The Etruscan "Tomba delle Bighe" and the chariot rescued from an Etruscan tomb and carefully reconstructed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, are also relevant.

³ A. Grabar, "Images de l'Ascension d'Alexandre en Italie et en Russie," in *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du Moyen Âge* (Paris 1968), vols. 1, pp. 295–96; 3, pl. 66 a, b: Bank (below, note 5), p. 301.

⁴ The arch (*fornix*) has a sure place in the history of morals: Horace, *Sat.* I. 2. 30; Juv. XI. 173. Fornication was particularly associated with the Circus: *Priapea* 26. 1.

⁵ Alice Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* (enlarged ed., Leningrad 1985), plates 213–17 with her remarks on pp. 310–11.

⁶ K. M. D. Dunbabin, "The Victorious Charioteer on Mosaics and Related Monuments," *American Journal of Archaeology* 86 (1982), 85–86: M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge 1986), *passim*. Alice Bank writes of a relief with circus scenes from circa 500 preserved in Leningrad: "The piece is likely to have been used as a chancel-screen in a church" (*op. cit.*, p. 273 on plates 13 and 14). This association of Church and Circus survived in Kiev: Grabar (above, note 3), 1, pp. 251 ff., "Les Fresques des Escaliers à Sainte-Sophie de Kiev et l'Iconographie Impériale Byzantine," esp. 255 ff. (cf. also p. 648); Christa Schug-Wille, *Art of the Byzantine World*, tr. E. M. Hatt (New York 1969), pp. 236–37. A Jewish midrash mentioned by K. Krumbacher describes Solomon's Hippodrome at Jerusalem with the participation of the four factions: *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (repr. New York 1970), I, p. 33 with note 1. It was impossible to imagine a royal court in any other terms. A similar bias inspires the attribution of a theatre to Charlemagne's New Rome at Aachen: *Anonymus de Carolo Magno et Leone Papa*, vv. 104–05. But Virgil had already described Dido's theatre at Carthage (*Aen.* I. 427).

⁷ Cf. (among much other material) Tacitus, *Ann.* XV. 44: *circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae permixtus plebi vel curriculo insistens*. More generally, for the association ruler / festivities, compare Nero himself on Britannicus: *Ann.* XIII. 15; and Seneca on Claudius, *Apocol.* 8. 2 (*Saturnalicius princeps*).

⁸ M. Kraay and M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (New York 1966), plates 23–27; Plato, *Rep.* VIII. 566d: cf. Aristophanes, *Knights* 1109 and 1128; *Ecclesiazusae* 466.

example, as Pindar's second *Pythian* (468 B.C.?). That ode contrasts what may be called King Hiero's "chivalry," his gentle governance of his horses, with the wild savagery of the lawless Centaurs, horse / men of a far different breed. Hiero, master of horses, victor in the hippodrome, favorite and indeed double of Zeus, ruled Syracuse, according to Pindar, with gentleness that called for "gentle requitals."⁹ But even the hospitable Zeus was betrayed by his guest Ixion, now punished forever on his revolving wheel in a parody of the revolving wheels that have just brought victory to the king. Hiero too was faced with uncomprehending opposition. The ode itself is the best evidence of his dilemmas. In a dialogue with his enemies, he is made to describe himself as a "cork," always bobbing above the brine. But his self-mockery cannot mask a ruthless resolution to deal with his foes, if they prove recalcitrant, as they deserve.¹⁰

Hiero, ailing (like Tutankhamen), suspicious, cruel, died in 466 B.C., and his dynasty fell from power soon after. The dialogue and self-justification of this "Hippodromic" poem already contain the germ of the Nika riots and their aftermath, and more generally of all those Circus encounters between people and ruler so characteristic of imperial Rome.¹¹ It was appropriate that the leader and champion of the social group, eventually the king, should play this role in this setting. The hippodrome / stadium / circus, the model and microcosm of the wheeling universe, is the locus of *agon* with and triumph over death, and Pindar's odes stand in a komic (comic) tradition acknowledging this fact.¹² The Olympic Games were celebrated at the tomb of Pelops, who thus acquires the only immortality possible for man, just as the funeral games of Patroclus or Anchises were the token and proof of those heroes' continuity. The Roman Circus, where after the conspiracy of Piso Nero gave thanks for his survival to the Sun,¹³ whose circling motion the terrestrial course represented, harbored also the shrine of Consus, god of the harvest home but also of the underworld. The

⁹ τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγανάκτιον ἀμοιβαῖς ἐποιχομένους τίνεσθαι, 24. The *gnome* is couched in general terms, but obviously applies to Hiero (cf. ἀγανάκτιον ἐν χερσὶ, 8), whose brother Gelon had already been saluted as εὐεργέτης, σωτήρ and βασιλεὺς at Syracuse (Diod. Sic. XI. 26. 5–6).

¹⁰ This interpretation is developed in J. K. Newman / F. S. Newman, *Pindar's Art* (Hildesheim 1984), pp. 215 ff.

¹¹ L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* II (10th ed., Leipzig 1922), pp. 7–8; for the earlier period, T. Böllinger, *Theatralis Licentia: die Publikumsdemonstrationen an den öffentlichen Spielen im Rom der früheren Kaiserzeit und ihre Bedeutung im politischen Leben* (Winterthur 1969).

¹² A theme particularly noticeable in *Ol.* 10: cf. τὸν ἐγκώμιον ἀμφὶ τρόπον, v. 77; *Pindar's Art*, pp. 200 ff. Alcestis is brought back from the dead in Euripides' play precisely by a comic Heracles who claims that he won her in an athletic *agon* (1026–27).

¹³ Tac., *Ann.* XV. 74: *propriusque honos Soli, cui est vetus aedes apud Circum in quo facinus parabatur.*

triple cones that marked the turning point or *meta* were borrowed by the Romans from Etruscan funerary monuments.¹⁴

Laughter and mockery are part of this complex of usages, since laughter is the token of birth and resurrection.¹⁵ The primitive community laughs at what it means to preserve, as Old Comedy in Athens and satire in Rome attest. The right of Circus freedom (*παρρησία*¹⁶) is well established. Criticism of rulers as part of this right and rite is a theme familiar in Rome both Old and New. This is why it was proper for a victorious charioteer and king, Hiero, through Pindar, to air his differences in a dialogue with his enemies in the second *Pythian*, and because of that airing to pose as confident of survival.¹⁷

II. The Ruler-Knight

The ambiguities attending the concept of the ruler-charioteer, straddling the two realms of death and life, are already apparent. They extend to the "knightly" ruler or prince. This is a notion familiar to Homer, where it is especially associated with Nestor.¹⁸ But how telling that there should already be about it some air, however faint, of laughter, ridicule. The garrulous Nestor, living on his past, a walking example of vertical time, too old for the realities of combat, is bound to be a figure of fun, as indeed Don Quixote de la Mancha (1605, 1615) would be centuries later. Ariosto had earlier exploited this same ambivalence in his *Orlando Furioso* (final version 1532).¹⁹ A history of "chivalry," ancient or medieval, would evidently provide an inexhaustible theme. What an odd development for the humble word *caballus*, and yet how in keeping with this lowly etymology that this ideal should so often carry some suggestion of the fool. But worse than this. The fool, to the unsympathetic eye, easily slips into the role of knave. Even the ambivalence Knecht / Knight therefore illustrates something of the same duplicity, the rejected (evil) and the ideal sides of the one concept.

¹⁴ John H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* (London 1986), p. 255 (quoted below, note 48); cf. Tertullian, *De Spect.* (ed. E. Castorina [Florence 1961]), 9 (games as microcosm); Pindar, *OI.* 1. 90 ff. (tomb of Pelops): Callimachus, fr. 384. 30 Pf.: ταφίω . . . πανηγυρίων.

¹⁵ OT Genesis 18:12; 21:3 (Isaac = "He laughed"): cf. the rite of *risus paschalisi*: M. Bakhtin, *Творчество Франсуа Рабле* (Moscow 1965), p. 18.

¹⁶ On the religious aspect of this concept, which was after all exercised at Athens in an *ecclesia*, cf. G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* V (Stuttgart 1954), pp. 869 ff. (H Schlier).

¹⁷ The point is reiterated by Cassiodorus in 509 A.D. (*Var.* I. 27. 5): *quorum* [i.e. that of the *gaudens populus* in the Circus] *garrulitas si patienter excipitur, ipsos quoque principes ornare monstratur. Garrulitas populi* = Pindar's λάθρος στρατός, *Py.* 2. 87.

¹⁸ Γερήνιος ιππότα Nέστωρ, *Il.* II. 336. "The title [i.e. Γερήνιος] is evidently so old that the real meaning of it had been lost in prehistoric times" (W. Leaf, *ad loc.*).

¹⁹ Oh gran bondà de' cavallieri antiqui! *O. F.* I. 22.

This double aspect of horse and man is classically illustrated on the Parthenon marbles, where on the one hand we find the Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, and on the other the young knights of Athens assuming their energetic role in the Panathenaic procession. Again, we can trace the battle back to Homer, where it began its long life throughout antiquity as the model of improper social ("political") behavior,²⁰ and again, centuries later, Cicero would invoke a complex of motifs already deployed by Pindar to prove the stupidity and immorality of a political opponent.²¹ The horsy Centaurs, who could not hold their wine, were evidently fools who verged too far into folly ("horseplay"). Yet the double aspect is once more evident. The wise Centaur Chiron was the tutor of Asclepius and Achilles in the art of healing.

Though the reminder of that might seem small comfort to the nephritic king to whom Pindar retailed a version of the story,²² it is possible to guess a reason why this myth was appropriate to and perhaps even appreciated by a ruler sick to death. An article written as long ago as 1914²³ traces the importance of the horse in beliefs connected with the dead. Already in the sixth century B.C. the dead man, originally represented as a horse, became a horse's rider, evidently riding to some kind of immortality. We can find some trace of these old ideas in the myth of the athlete riders Castor and Pollux, who take turns to rise from their earthly repose to share the divine life of Olympus.²⁴ The two heroes also visit human banquets, in a version of the *refrigerium* or *rinfresco*, at which the dead partake of an earthly meal. This too is a Pindaric theme.²⁵

Yet Pindar also tells the story of Bellerophon, who vainly tried on his winged horse Pegasus to ascend to Olympus.²⁶ A ruler therefore who allows himself to be portrayed on horseback is making bold religious and metaphysical statements and, since the ultimate religious and metaphysical statement is comic,²⁷ inevitably assuming many risks. One such risk is that of looking like a Centaur, a theme explored by Statius in the characterization of Adrastus in the *Thebaid*.²⁸ It is not clear when such equestrian

²⁰ *Od.* XIX. 295 ff.: in general, K. Bielohawek, "Gastmahl- und Symposionslehren bei griechischen Dichtern," *Wiener Studien* 58 (1940), 11-30.

²¹ *In Pis.* 10. 22: *Fortunae rotam, Centaurorum convivium.*

²² *Py.* 3: cf. *Iliad* XI. 830-32.

²³ L. Malten, "Das Pferd im Totenglauben," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 29 (1914), 179 ff. M. Nilsson is skeptical: *Geschichte d. gr. Religion* I (Munich 1955), pp. 382-83. But there is no contradiction between the horse as chthonic and the horse as hippodromic.

²⁴ Pindar, *Py.* 11. 61-64, *Nem.* 10. 55 ff.

²⁵ *OI.* 3. 34-35.

²⁶ *OI.* 13. 84; *Isth.* 7. 46.

²⁷ *Arridi*, Dante, *Paradiso* XXXIII. 126: cf. St. Bernard's *sorridea*, *ibid.* 49.

²⁸ E. g. X. 228, *Pholoes*: cf. II. 563 (of Tydeus), *Pholus*.

statues were introduced,²⁹ but what is clear from the evidence so far presented is that this sort of image could never be in its essence univocal, a truth that Caligula *more suo* may have overemphasized when he made his horse a consul. Hiero of Syracuse was already a "Hellenistic" monarch *avant la lettre*, "king," "lord," "benefactor." It is perhaps significant that we know the name of one of his horses, Pherenikos,³⁰ and of Alexander the Great's Bucephalus. When the latter died after the battle on the Hydaspes (326 B.C.), the king founded on the site the town of Bucephala.

At Rome, Q. Fabius Maximus had set a bronze equestrian statue of himself on the Capitol next to a gigantic statue of Hercules from Tarentum.³¹ Julius Caesar, very much aware of his spiritual debt, had been represented in the Forum Julium on a horse originally made for Alexander.³² But, with the Flavian emperors, this iconography took a new turn. André Grabar writes:

En effet, les exemples byzantins sont précédés de compositions analogues, sur les monuments du Bas-Empire romain qui s'inspirent, à leur tour, de prototypes créés au I^{er} siècle, probablement pour célébrer les victoires des Flaviens. C'est sous le règne de Titus du moins qu'on voit pour la première fois une figure de barbare sous les pieds du cheval galopant de l'empereur. Le barbare fait un geste de supplication, l'empereur l'écrase ou menace de l'écraser sous les sabots de son cheval. Ce type (et ses variantes) créé au I^{er} siècle (ou plutôt transformé, car l'image de l'empereur galopant *sans barbare* a été connue avant) et contemporain du thème précédent, doit lui aussi probablement son origine à une influence orientale et plus précisément parthe.³³

Even such a sober sides as Marcus Aurelius could be seen until recently outdoors in Michelangelo's Campidoglio,³⁴ his image apparently, in its original version, showing him riding down the (symbolically) small figure

²⁹ In Hellenistic Egypt Horus had been shown as a warrior "on horseback, attacking his foe, a crocodile, with a lance, very similar to and possibly the prototype of St. George and the Dragon of the Christian era": Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen* (rev. ed. Excalibur Books 1972), p. 172. Cf. Grabar (above, note 3), vol. 3, pl. 272, "Horus en soldat romain," from Baouit.

³⁰ Cf. Theocritus XVI. 46–47, τιμῆς δὲ καὶ ωκέες ἔλλαχον ἵπποι, / οἵ σφισιν ἐξ ιερῶν στεφανηφόροι ἥλθον ἀγάνων, where the honoring of horses victorious in the games seems already to be attributed to Simonides.

³¹ Plutarch, *Fab. Max.* 22. I owe this reference to the kindness of Frances S. Newman. Hercules and bronze horses are also found at St. Mark's, Venice, and St. Vladimir followed this Byzantine fashion, which included in his case the Ascension of Alexander, at Kiev: Grabar, vol. 2, p. 1096.

³² *Cedat equis Latiae qui contra tempora Diones / Caesarei stat sede fori; quem traderis ausus / Pellaeo, Lysippe, duci: Statius, Silvae I. 1. 84–86.*

³³ *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris 1936), p. 130.

³⁴ The image is familiar, but the photograph in Richard Ellmann's *Oscar Wilde* (New York 1988, following p. 492), taken around Easter in the year of Wilde's death (1900), is not without a certain pathos.

of a bound barbarian chieftain. As Grabar notes, this old motif was also carried forward into Byzantium. An epigram on an image of the Emperor Marcian (450–57) may be compared (*A. P.* IX. 802, tr. W. R. Paton):

Μορφὴν τὴνδ' ὄράς ζωφ ἐναλίγκιον ἵππῳ,
Μαρκιανὸν φορέοντι, βροτῶν βασιλῆα γενέθλης·
δεξιτερὴν δ' ἑτάνυσσε, θέοντα δὲ πῶλον ἐπείγει
δύσμενός καθύπερθεν, δτις κεφαλῆ μιν ἀείρει.

Thou seest this shape, like a live horse, carrying Marcian, ruler of the race of men. His right hand is outstretched, and he spurs on the galloping horse above a foeman, who seems to support its weight on his head.

Of the statue of Marcus Aurelius H. W. Janson remarks:

The wonderfully spirited and powerful horse expresses this martial spirit. But the Emperor himself, without weapons or armor, presents a picture of stoic detachment—a bringer of peace rather than a military hero. And so indeed he saw himself and his reign (161–180 A.D.).³⁵

Perhaps, when the captive was still visible under his horse, he illustrated the power of reason to prevail of itself over all its barbaric adversaries. This became completely unintelligible to the (western) Middle Ages³⁶—but not so much because the icon left men unmoved, as because it worked too strongly on Christian imaginations. We can see from a Saxon example that it fascinated, for example, the contemporaries of King Æthelbald of Mercia in the English Midlands, buried at Repton in A.D. 757.³⁷ In 1979, in a pit outside the east end of St. Wystan's Church there, once the royal mausoleum, an extraordinary relief came to light. The stone was part of the shaft of a tall cross, more particularly of the projection on the top, to which the cross-finial was fastened. The front face bears the figure of a mounted warrior, wearing a mail shirt over a pleated kilt, and brandishing a large sword and a small round shield or target. He has a luxuriant mustache, and is turned to face the viewer.³⁸ On the one preserved side, a monster with a humanoid head and a serpent body is shown with its mouth engulfing the

³⁵ *A History of Art* (new ed. London 1977), p. 174. The *locus classicus* is of course in Schramm, p. 151 (see the following note).

³⁶ Percy Ernst Schramm, *Das Herrscherbild in der Kunst des frühen Mittelalters* (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg II, 1, 1922–23 [repr. Nendeln / Liechtenstein 1967]), p. 153; E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bem 1948), p. 409.

³⁷ Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, "The Repton Stone," *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), 233–92.

³⁸ This was characteristic of Byzantine emperors. Cf. "Dish with The Triumph of the Emperor Constantius II" (late fourth century), plate 1 in Alice Bank (above, note 5) with her commentary on p. 271. The so-called Barberini ivory (R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* [New York 1971], p. 34) shows a front-facing emperor, probably either Anastasius or Justinian, at his *adventus*, seated on his horse, while a general bears a statuette of Victory. M. McCormick (above, p. 216) notes that this pose was avoided in the iconography of Carolingian lead seals: not apparently in Mercia.

heads of two human figures, who stand on the coils of the body with their arms around each other's waists.

The finders argue for an eighth-century date for the monument and suggest that "the Repton rider takes his place naturally in the development of the equestrian ruler statue from late antiquity to the early Middle Ages":³⁹

The sequence for present purposes begins with the statue of Marcus Aurelius now on the Capitol. . . . These are the elements basic to most late Roman and early Byzantine imperial equestrian statues, and are present in slightly differing ways in *adventus* scenes such as those on the Belgrade cameo. . . ., the Szilágy-Somlyó medallion and the Barberini diptych. . . . When Justinian erected a huge equestrian statue of himself in Constantinople in 542-3 it still showed, and was seen by Procopius and later writers to show, those same elements of stern and effective yet humane authority which Statius had seen in the statue of Marcus Aurelius.⁴⁰

Since the time of Diocletian, however, the eastern enemies of Rome had begun to influence the fashions of the imperial court. In the third quarter of the fourth century the imperial equestrian figure of Constantius II on the Kertch dish . . . shows that ninety-degree turn to the front . . . which can already be seen in the third century in the relief . . . of the Sassanid King Sapor I (241-72). . . .

It is into this sequence, but much nearer to Constantius II on the Kertch dish than to the emperor of the Bamberg silk, that the Repton rider fits so well.⁴¹

Earlier, the writers take up the question of the serpent's symbolism:

If meaning is sought, the most likely interpretation of this face would seem to be that it represents the mouth of hell. . . . The fallen angels on fol. 2 of the Old English Hexateuch (London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv), a manuscript of the second quarter of the eleventh century, are . . . violently cast down and uneager, but the hell-mouth towards which they fall is represented not simply as a monstrous head, but as a dragon with legs and a long, coiled, serpent-like body. The illuminations of this manuscript, as has long been recognized, are derived at least in part from late antique or Greek manuscripts, and some of the pictures, including the fall of the rebel angels, are also inspired by Anglo-Saxon literary tradition.⁴²

Æthelbald's equestrian funerary monument surmounted a tall cross. The Anglo-Saxon sculptor then saw the equestrian ruler as a religious

³⁹ Biddles, 287.

⁴⁰ Sic. Actually, Domitian's horse, trampling a stylized Rhine (*Silvae* I. 1. 51), was rather more restrained than Marcus Aurelius', anticipating the later Byzantine tradition (Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, p. 48).

⁴¹ Biddles, 287-88, following Schramm, pp. 164 ff.

⁴² Biddles, 278. Cf. Dante, *Inferno* XXXIV, 55-56: Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, pp. 43-45.

phenomenon, just as the sculptor of Marcus Aurelius was making a philosophical statement. This supernatural aura must not be overlooked whenever the monarch / horse is in question. The ambivalence—incommensurability with the rational—surrounding the horse / man in the tradition is both comic (“he’s dead, but he won’t lie down”) and religious, again something made quite plain by the komic Pindar at the start of the second *Pythian* (*δαῖμονια*).

It is consistent with this that Byzantine religious art employs the motif, notably in the iconography of St. George.⁴³ The mounted figure of the saint was to become especially popular in the art of medieval Novgorod, along with the equestrian Saints Florus and Laurus. Far earlier, the rock churches of Göreme in Cappadocia, first investigated by Guillaume de Jerphanion, depict the Three Mounted Saints George, Theodore and Demetrius of Orthodox hagiography, and notably St. George⁴⁴ (chapels of St. Basil and St. Barbara). But this image was also pagan. Earlier again, the Temple of Hadrian in Ephesus, on the right as one descends the street of the Curetes, still displays a frieze added in the fourth century, showing an equestrian Androcles killing a wild boar at the foundation of the city.

This immemorial image has about it then a double aspect, partly good and partly bad, comic and tragic, holy and diabolical, natural and supernatural, time-bound and time-free, even though in certain scenes one or other of these double aspects may seem wholly to have driven out or suppressed the other. Sometimes the ambivalence is neatly polarized. At Ephesus, the hero killed a boar. In the Christian icon, as in the Mercian relief, the cowering enemy who has now vanished from Marcus Aurelius’ statue appears in the shape of the dragon, the personification of evil. Æthelbald’s dragon is on a separate side of the stone. St. George’s crouches in the lower right corner of the picture, while the saint occupies the left and center, his spear crossing from left to right, a use of the diagonal to express opposition as old as the Parthenon frieze—or Tutankhamen’s coffer.

Yet in all these instances the lesson was the same. Evidently the mastery of the uncouth creature is the evidence of bravery and virtue, and the example for the Stoic / heroic / Christian soul. In the case of hero, saint

⁴³ See above, p. 316, for St. George in company with Circus scenes. But see also the icon of St. Demetrios (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century) now in the Kremlin Museum, Moscow: Bank, *op. cit.*, plates 262, 263 and her commentary on p. 319.

⁴⁴ The Church of St. George at Belisırma built by Basil Giacoupes, the minister of the Seljuk Sultan Maṣut II, and his wife Thamar, presents however the saint standing in frontal view, a reminiscence of Byzantine imperial iconography and an anticipation of Donatello’s sculpture in Or San Michele. Janson, *A History of Art*, p. 382 with figure 490, calls attention only to the kinship of the latter with the St. Theodore on the south transept portals of Chartres, dated to 1215–20. Icons such as those of Saints. George and Demetrios (Bank, plate 148: she compares [p. 297] a similar image of St. Demetrios on the bottom of the serpentine vessel in the Treasury of St. Mark) or Boris and Gleb (Schug-Wille, *Art of the Byzantine World*, p. 250) are however also relevant.

and emperor-king, the good and the bad have been divided into two clearly recognizable opposites. When Pindar and the sculptors of the Parthenon used the motif, they also divided it, and its double aspect is represented by two separate images, the Charioteer / Knight and the Centaur. Dürer's engraving *Knight, Death and Devil* (1513), preserved in Boston, completed three years before the first edition of the *Orlando Furioso*, is a later example of this same technique of division. In Byzantine art, the saint's horse and the dragon equally represent a potential for good or ill.

But what if the double aspect is contained in the one image? The smiling Can Grande on his horse in Verona, of unknown authorship but dated to 1330, shows that this schizophrenia or double apprehension (really, comic twinning⁴⁵) may coalesce around a single figure. Again Janson's commentary is relevant:⁴⁶

Among the latter [Italian Gothic tombs], the most remarkable perhaps is the monument of Can Grande della Scala, the lord of Verona. A tall structure built out-of-doors next to the church of Sta. Maria Antica, it consists of a vaulted canopy housing the sarcophagus and surmounted by a truncated pyramid which in turn supports an equestrian statue of the deceased. . . . The ruler, astride his richly caparisoned mount, is shown in full armor, sword in hand, as if he were standing on a windswept hill at the head of his troops; and, in a supreme display of self-confidence, he wears a broad grin. Clearly, this is no Christian Soldier, no crusading knight, no embodiment of the ideals of chivalry, but a frank glorification of power. Can Grande, remembered today mainly as the friend and protector of Dante, was indeed an extraordinary figure; although he held Verona as a fief from the German emperor, he styled himself "the Great Khan," thus asserting his claim to the absolute sovereignty of an Asiatic potentate. His free-standing equestrian statue—a form of monument traditionally reserved for emperors—conveys the same ambition in visual terms.

In this analysis, several points are important:

1. The statue (like that of King Æthelbald) is a funeral monument, in this case to a "Great Khan." Under Khan Batu the Tatars, including many Mongol and Turkic elements, had reached the Adriatic in 1241. In 1246 Plano Carpini had visited them and described their military might. Marco Polo lived in Tartary at the court of the Great Khan from 1275–92.⁴⁷ Can Grande's statue seems to embody heady and primitive ideas for Trecento Italy, but they were not so much novel as the revival (with Turkish aid?) of old and forgotten traditions.
2. It is raised. That of King Æthelbald surmounted a tall cross.

⁴⁵ M. Bakhtin, Проблемы Поэтики Достоевского (Moscow 1963), pp. 38–39, 282 ff. The classic study is by Sigmund Freud, "Über den Gegensinn der Urworte," *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. VIII (repr. London 1948), pp. 213 ff.

⁴⁶ A *History of Art*, pp. 318–19 with figure 438.

⁴⁷ B. Pares, *A History of Russia* (repr. London 1955), pp. 81–82.

3. It is next to a church, again like that of the King.
4. It stands on a truncated pyramid supported by a vaulted canopy.
5. The figure is smiling.

Can Grande therefore signified his survival by an equestrian statue rising above a pyramid⁴⁸ and above the vault of heaven. His smile is not to be dismissed as one of self-confident complacency. Did the patron of Dante's *Comedy* not understand the cosmological and eschatological significance of laughter? Can Grande's broad grin is his claim to transcend death by accepting the comic. This is more but not less than Christian, and a re-assertion of the element of humor found earlier in Homer's long-lived Nestor. What deeper wells of pre-logical thought all this may plumb can only be guessed.

III. Pushkin's Медный Всадник

"Asiatic" is a term often applied by nineteenth-century liberals to the more distasteful aspects of the Russian despotism. But those more attuned to old ambivalences were not so hasty in their judgments. A. S. Pushkin's *Медный Всадник* (*The Bronze Horseman*, 1833) is the proof of that. The liberal who seeks for some univocal condemnation of Russian imperial power as embodied in this image will find it in Adam Mickiewicz.⁴⁹ He will not find it in the Russian. The poet has certainly turned the static into the fluid, the tranquil contemplation of the imperial icon into a kinetic nightmare. But he is great enough to retain some of the old ambiguity, so that it cannot be said that his compassion stifles his feeling for the majesty of empire. Pushkin's Evgenii, the sentimental but degenerate descendant of a once noble family, now a lowly civil servant, is a variant of the cowering barbarian beneath the hooves of Marcus Aurelius or Marcian. He goes mad because he lacks the vision of Peter the Great, described in powerful lines as the poem opens, when the Czar stands at the mouth of the desolate Neva and decrees that here is to be Russia's window on Europe. The struggle with the elements is too much for him. The onset of his madness is signalled by laughter.⁵⁰ His threat to the Bronze Horseman plunges him even further into a delirium in which he hears the statue in pursuit. Eventually his body is found "at the threshold" (II. 219) of a happiness denied.

⁴⁸ *Regalique situ Pyramidum altius*. "Some late Etruscan urns show three markers on a high platform, the whole evidently serving as a funerary monument": Humphrey, *Roman Circuses*, p. 255. There were "Pyramides" at the festival held in honor of the circumcision ("rite de passage") of the son of Murad III in 1582: B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire* (Norman, Oklahoma 1963), p. 138. Compare *pyramides*, Biddle, 283.

⁴⁹ Cf. Czeslaw Milosz, *The History of Polish Literature* (Berkeley 1983), pp. 224–25, who acknowledges Pushkin's "ambivalence" (p. 225) quite frankly.

⁵⁰ Захохотал, part II, line 65.

But although the Czar is brought into association in this way with laughter and madness, the poet's admiration for the imperial achievement is quite clear. *Люблю тебя, Петра творенье* ("I love you, creation of Peter"), he cries in a famous passage (*Vstuplenie*, 43 ff.). And again (84 ff.):

Красуйся, град Петров, и стой,
Неколебимо, как Россия.
Да умирится же с тобой
И побежденная стихия;
Вражду и плен старинный свой
Пусть волны финские забудут
И тщетной злобою не будут
Тревожить вечный сон Петра!

Exult, city of Peter, and stand unshaken, like Russia. Let even the conquered element be reconciled with you. Let the Finnish waves [of the river Neva] forget their old hatred and captivity, nor with vain malice disturb Peter's eternal sleep.

The motif of the guardian lions, twice mentioned in the poem (I. 128; II. 140), is as old as the Lion Gate at Mycenae, itself the descendant of Hittite practice.⁵¹ And the Hittites of course were settled in Asia Minor (Anadolu). Yet, in spite of this evocation of the symbols of ancient "Asiatic" kingship, obviously there is ambiguity, since the interpretations of the poem have varied so widely, corrupted in part by the desire to make Pushkin a liberal because he was the enemy of despotism. But the poet's maripose manner is too elusive to be fixed by these unfeeling literary-entomological pins. Least of all can this poem be adduced as evidence that the first poem of Statius' *Silvae* must be interpreted univocally. Pushkin is not a politician.⁵²

A few years later (1842), in a development of the ancient and Pindaric chariot-of-state motif, N. V. Gogol' envisages Russia itself as a troika, coursing over the steppe:

Не так ли и ты, Русь, что бойкая необгонимая тройка несешься?
Дымом дымится под тобою дорога, гремят мосты, все отстает и
остается позади. Остановился пораженный божьим чудом
созерцатель: не молния ли это, сброшенная с неба? что
значит это наводящее ужас движение? и что за неведомая
сила заключена в сих неведомых светом конях? Эх, кони, кони,
что за кони! Вихри ли сидят в ваших гривах? Чуткое ли ухо
горит во всякой вашей жилке? Зашлыши с вышины знакомую
песню, дружно и разом напрягли медные груди и, почти не

⁵¹ Janson, p. 74 with figure 91 (Bogazköy, c. 1400 B.C.).

⁵² See my discussion "Pushkin's 'Bronze Horseman' and the Epic Tradition," *Comparative Literature Studies* IX (1972), 173–95. The reader will wish to contrast F. M. Ahl's essay in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II. 32. 1 (1984), esp. pp. 91–102.

tronuv копытами земли, превратились в одни вытянутые линии, летящие по воздуху, и мчится вся вдохновенная богом! ... Русь, куда ж несешься ты, дай ответ? Не дает ответа. Чудным звоном заливается колокольчик; гремит и становится ветром разорванный в куски воздух; летит мимо все, что ни есть на земле, и, косясь, постораниваются и дают ей дорогу другие народы и государства.

Are you too, Russia, not borne along like a lively troika, not to be overtaken? The path smokes beneath you, bridges ring, everything stands out of the way and will be left behind. The onlooker halts, struck by the divine miracle. Is this lightning, hurled from heaven? What does this movement mean that inspires horror? What unknown force is enclosed in these horses unknown to the world? Ah, horses, horses, what horses! Do whirlwinds sit in your manes? Does a keen ear burn in every one of your veins? They hear from on high a familiar song, readily at once they strain their chests of bronze and, almost without touching the ground with their hooves, they are transformed into single outstretched lines, flying through the air, each flashing under the inspiration of God! . . . Russia, whither are you borne, answer me? No answer is given. The bell spills its wonderful sound, the air, torn to pieces, whistles and turns into the wind. Everything on earth flies past, and with sidelong looks other peoples and states move to one side and yield her the road.

Just as in Pushkin's poem, these horses too are of bronze (мединые груди). And the eulogy leaves us with a question that is unanswered (не дает ответа). It concludes the First Part of *Dead Souls*, the comic and yet overwhelmingly sad depiction of Russian self-seeking and self-deception (пошлость) in the early nineteenth century.

IV. The Colossal as Religious Statement

The reader already feels in Gogol's Circus image something suprahuman. Falconet's famous statue in St. Petersburg,⁵³ the inspiration of Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman*, was larger than life. This too is an important concept, and in Near Eastern and Egyptian art the colossal statue has a long history. Big statues, like those of Rameses II at Abu-Simbel, impress by their sheer weight, and weight is a notion akin to glory. This was quite well known in the Greco-Roman world, to Apollonius Rhodius, for example, and Statius.⁵⁴

⁵³ He had studied Marcus Aurelius' statue: *Observations sur la statue de Marc-Aurèle* (Lausanne 1781): Schramm, p. 152, note 19.

⁵⁴ Botterweck, Ringgren, Fabry, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* IV (Stuttgart 1984), s. vv. *kabed* and *kabod*, cols. 13 ff., 23 ff. Cf. *Iliad* V. 838–39; *Ap. Rhod.*, *Arg.* II. 679–80; *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* I. 1289–91a (p. 116, Wendel); Virgil, *Aen.* VI. 413; Ovid, *Met.* XV. 693–94; Lucan, *Phars.* I. 57; Statius, *Thebaid* VII. 750: H. Cancik, *Untersuchungen zur lyrischen Kunst des P. Papinius Statius* (Hildesheim 1965), pp. 93–94. Swift notes in the style of the Emperor of Lilliput, "whose Feet press down to the Center, and whose Head strikes against the Sun" (*Gulliver's Travels* [1735; repr. New York 1977], p. 29).

But already Alexander's artists had offered to carve Mount Athos into a likeness of the king so big that it would hold an entire town in its right hand. "He's got the whole world in his hand," the theme of a Negro Spiritual in debt to the Hebrew Psalms, would here have been realized quite literally.⁵⁵ The Hellenistic motif of the large statue is exploited at Rome by Ennius to flatter the Elder Scipio (*Varia* 1) and guyed by Plautus (*Curc.* 139–40, 439 ff.).⁵⁶ The suggestion of the colossal in these early authors is quite unmistakable later, for example, when Propertius echoes the theme in flattering Augustus (II. 10. 21–24):

Ut caput in magnis ubi non est tangere signis,
Ponitur hic imos ante corona pedes,
sic nos nunc, inopes laudis concendere culmen,
pauperibus sacris vilia tura damus.

The reign of Augustus is not to be exempted from the long history and flux of ancient ideas about the divine ruler, the god-king.

V. Justinian as Bronze Horseman

Colossal statues of the emperors were familiar in Asia Minor, and the head of Constantine preserved in the Campidoglio is proof that this tradition was alive for the founder of New Rome. Constantine's colossal statue had stood outside his basilica in Old Rome. More interestingly for the reader of Statius and Pushkin, in the central square of New Rome, the so-called Augustaion, redesigned after the destruction caused by the Nika riots, stood a column bearing a colossal equestrian bronze statue of the Emperor Justinian.⁵⁷ C. Mango notes the fame of this image:

This column came to be regarded as one of the wonders of Constantinople, and there exists a vast body of evidence concerning it, since every medieval visitor of the City—be he a Russian pilgrim, an Arab, or a Crusader—made a point of describing it for the benefit of "the folks at home." Even after the column had been pulled down by the Turks, it continued to be represented on Russian icons.⁵⁸

A page from a fourteenth-century manuscript of the medieval Bulgarian translation of the verse *Chronicle* of Constantine Manasses (twelfth

⁵⁵ E. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* (repr. Stuttgart 1958), p. 838, notes a rhyming inscription in iambics from Attaleia in Pisidia referring to the χείρ μόναρχος of Leo IV (775–780). Cf. Herodotus VIII. 140 β χείρ ὑπερμήκης of Xerxes, over a thousand years before. Pompey's *dextera invicta* (Cicero, *Verrine* V. 58. 153) is in the same vein, and Pompey, the builder of Rome's first permanent theatre (inspired, according to Plutarch, *Life of Pompey* 43, by the sight of the theatre at Miletus), would serve with distinction in the East. Cf. Cancik, pp. 62–63.

⁵⁶ Again the double, serio-comic aspect.

⁵⁷ See the article by J. Raby, above, 305 ff.

⁵⁸ *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (repr. Toronto 1986), p. 57.

century),⁵⁹ now in the Vatican, shows Justinian looking at St. Sophia from the Augustaion. In the center, adjoined therefore by the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Senate House, the Imperial Palace, the Church and the Hippodrome, the column crowned by his equestrian statue is quite clearly visible. In medieval Russia, the *Letter to Cyril of Tver'* of Epifanii the Wise, written about 1415, requests:

Delineate for me Justinian, as he is called, sitting on horseback and holding in his right hand a brazen apple which, they say, is so big and capacious that it would hold two and a half pails of water.⁶⁰

Justinian's contemporary Procopius writes (*De Aed.* I. 2. 5-12):

Ἐν δὲ τοῦ κίονος τῇ κορυφῇ χαλκοῦς ἔστηκεν ὑπερμεγεθῆς ἵππος, τετραμένος πρὸς ἔω, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ἔοικε δὲ βαδιούμενῳ καὶ τοῦ πρόσω λαμπρῶς ἔχομένῳ. ποδῶν τῶν προσθίων ἀμέλει τὸν μὲν ἀριστερὸν μετεωρίζει, ὡς ἐπιβησόμενον τῆς ἐπίπροσθεν γῆς, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου ἡρείρεισται,⁶¹ οὐν ὑπερθέν ἔστιν, ὡς τὴν βάσιν ἐκδεξόμενος· τοὺς δὲ ὀπισθίους οὕτω ξυνάγει ὡς, ἐπειδὰν τὸ μὴ ἔστηξεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάλλοι, ἐν ἐτοίμῳ εἰνεν. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἵππῳ χαλκῆ ἐπιβέβηκε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκών, κολοσσῷ ἐμφερῆς. ἔσταλται δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς ἡ εἰκών. οὕτω γάρ τὸ σχῆμα καλοῦσιν ὅπερ ἀμπέχεται. τάς τε γάρ ἀρβύλας ὑποδέδεται καὶ τὰ σφυρά ἔστι κνημίδων χωρίς. εἴτα ἡρωϊκῶς τεθωράκισται καὶ κράνος αὐτῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν σκέπει δόξαν ὡς κατασείοιτο παρεχόμενον, αἴγλη⁶² τέ τις ἐνθένδε αὐτοῦ ἀπαστράπτει. φαίνεται δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ὄπωρινὸν ἐκείνον ἀστέρα.⁶³ βλέπει δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, τὴν ἡνιόχησιν ἐπὶ Πέρσας, οἷμαι, ποιούμενος. καὶ φέρει μὲν χειρὶ τῇ λαιᾷ πόλον, παραδηλῶν δὲ πλάστης ὅτι γῆ τε αὐτῷ καὶ θάλασσα δεδούλωται πᾶσα. ἔχει δὲ οὔτε ξίφος οὔτε δοράτιον οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν ὅπλων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σταυρὸς αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλου

⁵⁹ Reproduced in R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (above, note 38, p. 113). Professor Browning kindly informs me that the original is Vat. Sl. 2 fol. 109^v.

⁶⁰ Mango, p. 257. Actually, the orb ("apple") was in Justinian's left hand, according to Procopius, but the Russian hagiographer has been misled by the symbolic importance of the right hand ("dextera Domini fecit virtutem") into substituting that. Although Schramm interprets (p. 158, note 39a) the orb as originally the attribute of Zeus, one is reminded by Epifanii's irreverence of the biped Centauress preserved in the Antiquarium at Taormina and adopted as its civic emblem by the city, holding in her right hand what may be a love-apple of heroic proportions. It is visible on the fountain in the Piazza Municipio. Compare the ball promised by Aphrodite to Eros (*Apollonius, Arg.* III. 132 ff.), which she describes as Διὸς περικαλλές ἄθυρμα, though now it is evidently in her gift.

⁶¹ The form is presumably modelled on Homer's ἡρήρειστο (e.g. II. III. 357, διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαιδάλου ἡρήρειστο), and in final position like this is already intended to give some epic air to the description. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, actually reads ἡρήρεισται (p. 46, note 4).

⁶² Αἴγλαεντα . . . κόσμον, Pindar, *Py.* 2. 10 (cf. αἴγλα διόσδοτος, *Py.* 8. 96): πάντοθεν αἴγλήεις, *A. P.* XVI. 65. 4.

⁶³ Cf. *Iliad* XXII. 26-29.

έπικειται, δι' οὐ δὴ μόνου τὴν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πεπόρισται κράτος. προτεινόμενος δὲ χεῖρα τὴν δεξιὰν ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους διαπετάσας ἔγκελευνεται τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις καθῆσθαι οἴκοι καὶ μὴ πρόσω ιέναι.

On top of the column stands a huge bronze horse, facing east, forming an imposing monument. It seems on the verge of moving, and grasping firm hold of what lies ahead. Its left forefoot is raised, as if to step onto the earth before it, the other is fixed upon its pediment, to support its movement. Its hind legs are gathered so as to be ready when their turn comes for action. The horse's rider is a bronze effigy of the emperor, of colossal size. The garb is that of Achilles—that is the name of the costume he is wearing. It includes boots, but no greaves for the ankles. He has a hero's breastplate, and a helmet protecting his head that looks as if it might shake off, and this is the source of the brilliance that streams from him. One might quote Homer's phrase about the autumn star. His looks are directed towards the rising sun, as if he were riding against the Persians. In his left hand he has an orb, the sculptor's intention being to indicate that he is lord of all the earth and sea. He carries no sword, spear or other weapon, but a cross surmounts his orb, for it is through this alone that he has won his royal power and victory in war. His right hand is stretched towards the east, its fingers outspread, in a gesture of command to the barbarians there to stay safely at home and to advance no further.⁶⁴

Some points emerge about this Constantinopolitan Bronze Horseman:

1. It is both raised and of colossal size.
2. Its right hand appears to be threatening the Persians in the East.
3. It stands near a church and a Circus.
4. It is about to take off into another dimension, that of motion.
5. It is a resurrection of Achilles.
6. Epiphanius the Wise makes fun of the orb, calling it a brazen apple.
7. According to other evidence,⁶⁵ it had a spring at its base, later enlarged after the conquest.
8. It was awe-inspiring even to the Turks, and in general was regarded as having religious or even quasi-magical properties.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Mango offers a briefer excerpt (p. 110). He also adduces (pp. 111–13) the *Ekphrasis of the Augustaion* (late thirteenth century) of Georgius Pachymeres. Cf. in general, P. Friedlaender, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius: Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit* (Leipzig 1912).

⁶⁵ Raby, 306, note 2; 308; 311, note 16. Hence the importance of the Lacus Curtius, described as adjacent to Domitian's statue by Statius (*Silvae* I. 1. 66 ff.; cf. *palus*, 76), and of the flooding Neva in Pushkin's *Медный всадник*.

⁶⁶ Raby, 305, 311–12.

The *Greek Anthology* also seems to describe another equestrian statue of Justinian, this time actually in the Hippodrome (XVI. 62, translation adapted from W. R. Paton):

Ταῦτά σοι, ὁ βασιλεὺς Μηδοκτόνε, δῶρα κομίζει
σῆς 'Ρώμης γενέτης καὶ πάϊς Εὐστάθιος,
πῶλον ὑπὲρ νίκης, Νίκην στεφανηφόρον ἄλλην,
καὶ σὲ μετηνεμίφ πῶλῳ ἐφεζόμενον.
ὑψόσ', 'Ιουστινιανέ, τεὸν κράτος· ἐν χθονὶ δ' αἰεὶ⁶⁶
δεσμὸς ἔχοι Μήδων καὶ Σκυθέων προμάχους.

These gifts, O King, slayer of the Persians, are brought to thee by Eustathius, the father and son of thy Rome: a horse for thy victory, another laurelled Victory, and thyself seated on the horse swift as the wind. Up with thy might, Justinian, but may the champions of the Persians and Scythians ever lie in chains on the ground.

The next epigram may be compared (XVI. 63, adapted from Paton):

Πῶλον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνακτα καὶ ὀλλυμένην Βαβυλῶνα
χαλκὸς ἀπὸ σκύλων ἐπλασεν 'Ασσυρίων.
ἔστι δ' 'Ιουστινιανός, ὃν 'Αντολίης ζυγὸν ἔλκων
στῆσεν 'Ιουλιανός, μάρτυρα Μηδοφόρον.

The bronze from the Assyrian spoils moulded the horse and the monarch and Babylon perishing. This is Justinian, whom Julianus, controlling the yoke of Anatolia, erected, his own witness to the slaying of the Persians.

VI. Domitian as Bronze Horseman

Byzantine art therefore provides an indispensable link between past and future, Statius in Old Rome and Pushkin in the realm of the Third Rome; for between Julius Caesar and Marcus Aurelius, before Justinian and Peter the Great, stands Domitian's colossal equestrian statue, which can only be understood as part of this same peculiar sequence.⁶⁷ No doubt the statue itself was meant as a piece of imperial propaganda, but what kind of statement was it making? Domitian's father and brother had built the Colosseum, named after a destroyed colossal image of Nero that once stood on the site, and Martial shows how much the imagery of the Circus

⁶⁷ Procopius actually says that Justinian bore a physical resemblance to Domitian (*Anecdota* VIII. 13 ff.)—a piece of satirical malice that may however conceal a deeper truth about Domitian's proto-Byzantine inclinations, and on the other side about Justinian's traditionalism. Some observations on the rhetorical / anathematic background are to be found in A. Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae* (Liverpool 1983), pp. 131–32. Paul Holberton reminds me that Statius' poem is actually picked up again by Pomponius Gauricus, *De Sculptura* (1504: edd. A. Chastel and R. Klein, Geneva-Paris 1969): cf. p. 55 and n. 64. Gauricus himself made a bronze horseman (perhaps only a medal) inspired by the concept of ἀμφιβολία or ambiguity (p. 199). This was suggested by Pliny (*N. H.* XXXV. 59, *dubitatur*) with reference to an equestrian painting (so Gauricus) by Polygnotus.

pervaded Domitian's reign. Was Statius' celebration of the emperor's statue at the opening of the *Silvae* a spoof? And if it was a spoof, is that inconsistent with the whole concept of the knightly ruler? Is it a question of either / or?

For the first time in literature in the first poem of the *Silvae* Statius has united the old idea of the colossal with the old idea of the "knightly" ruler. This is the immense importance of the theme, and explains its position in the collection. It opens a book that ends with Phalaecian hendecasyllables on a Saturnalian feast celebrated in the amphitheatre, just as Justinian's equestrian statue stood near the entrance to the Hippodrome. None of this is any more fortuitous than Can Grande's grin.

Some lines of the poem may be quoted (2-16):

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caelone peractum
 fluxit opus? Siculis an conformata caminis
 effigies lassum Steropen Brontenque reliquit?
 an te Palladiae talem, Germanice, nobis
 effinxere manus qualem modo frena tenentem
 Rhenus et attoniti vidit domus ardua Daci?
 nunc age fama prior notum per saecula nomen
 Dardanii miretur equi cui vertice sacro
 Dindymon et caesis decrevit frondibus Ide.
 hunc neque discissis cepissent Pergama muris;
 nec grege permixto pueri innuptaeque puellae,
 ipse nec Aeneas nec magnus duceret Hector.
 adde quod ille nocens saevosque amplexus Achivos,
 hunc mitis commendat eques. iuvat ora tueri
 mixta notis belli placidamque gerentia pacem.

Is this a work of art made in heaven and drifted down to earth? Was this image shaped on Etna's anvils, wearying the Cyclopes? Was it Athena's hands that fashioned you in this guise for us, Caesar, such as the Rhine and the lofty home of the thunderstruck Dacian witnessed you but now, bridle in hand? Old legend may be content to admire the long-lasting fame of the Trojan Horse, for whose sake Dindymon lost its hallowed top and Ida was shorn of her woods. But Troy could never have contained this horse even with her walls thrown wide, no boys and unwedded maids in mingled throng have drawn it inside, not even Aeneas or mighty Hector. That horse was treacherous, the lair of the savage Greeks; this its gentle rider recommends. How good to see that face marked indeed by the features of war, but mingling with them those of tranquil peace.

Some details of the poem may now be listed and annotated:

1. *Caelone peractum / fluxit opus* (2-3): This whole opening passage (2-16), in which the poet finds the divine at work in the suprahuman image, may be compared with the end of *Dead Souls*, and with Procopius' evocation of Justinian's αἴγλη and of Achilles. Pindar's

second *Pythian* had led the way (μεγαλοπόλιες, δαιμόνιαι, αἰγλάεντα κόσμον).

Mitis eques here (15; cf. *mitior*, 25), recalls the theme of Hiero's "gentleness" in Pindar (ἀγνωτίσιν ἐν χερσὶ, *Py.* 2. 8). Both Marcus Aurelius and Justinian would be ostentatiously unarmed. There is nothing inherently polemical about the reminiscences of the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. These are the canonical Greek and Roman statements of the heroic ideal.

2. *Par operi sedes* (22 ff.): The statue is near the Temple of Quirinus (the deified Romulus) and the Julian basilica. Since death in one shape or another could be taken for granted, it promises therefore immortality. Its head overlooks temples (32–33), exactly as Justinian overlooked Hagia Sophia.
3. *Dextra vetat pugnas* (37): Alexander's hand has already attracted our attention. The "right hand of the Lord" is familiar from the Bible. Here it brings peace, like Pompey's in Cicero's Fifth *Verrine* (§153), another religious idea. Justinian's right hand was equally visible, but by contrast it threatened war. This motif also recurs twice in Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman* (I. 162; II. 190), though the hand is not specified.
4. The horse is on the verge of galloping (*cursumque minatur*, 47): Again, this is exactly like Justinian's horse. Pushkin would make this motif actual.
5. *Vacuae pro cespite terrae / aerea captivi crinem terit ungula Rheni* (50–51): Marcus Aurelius once had a captive beneath his horse's hooves. This Flavian theme,⁶⁸ already noted in Egyptian art and in the statue of the Emperor Marcian, is akin to the Psalmist's: *Dixit Dominus domino meo, 'Sede a dextris (!) meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.'*⁶⁹ It progresses towards Pushkin's Evgenii.
6. *Pondere* (56): see note 54 above on *kabod*.
7. The epiphany of Curtius from the Lacus Curtius (66 ff.) is set up by the typical device of an enquiring (lesser) deity puzzled by the action of another,⁷⁰ but the fact that this guardian spirit springs from the lower world is an essential part of the same Roman mentality that opened the

⁶⁸ Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, p. 130, quoted above, p. 320.

⁶⁹ OT Ps. 110:1 (compare 66:12 for the worm's eye view). Cf. E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957), p. 161; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* II (repr. Oxford 1962), p. 412 ad v. 907; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 58, note 76, on the history of the *calcatio colli*, already known to Propertius (l. 1. 4); Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, p. 129, on Ps. 91:13.

⁷⁰ The inspiration was no doubt Callimachus, fr. 288, Pf., but this became a *topos* variously amplified in the Roman eulogy: Claudian, *Prob. Olyb.* 73 ff.; Sidonius, *Pan. Anth.* II. 318 ff., *Pan. Maioriani* 53 ff., *Pan. Aviti* 45 ff.

shrine of Consus at the *meta* of the Circus.⁷¹ In the celebration, death loses its terrors, and becomes instead the renewer of life, the source of resurrection.⁷²

8. *Cedat* (84): The *cedat* topos, so engrained in the Roman attitude to the world, is also at work in various guises at 8 ff., 18 ff., 27 ff., 39, 52 ff. It is particularly well known from Roman comedy and Martial,⁷³ but it was also known in Byzantium,⁷⁴ and Justinian's "Solomon, I have surpassed thee" is part of the same concept.
9. The image conquers time (91 ff.): This was already hinted at in the allusion to the Trojan Horse. It is part of the suspension of time that characterizes the carnival.⁷⁵
10. Domitian is a second Alexander (100): This too is part of the theme of resurrection, particularly visible in the stories about Nero's reappearance, for example.⁷⁶ Similarly, Justinian was a second Achilles.
11. *Certus ames terras* (105): This theme is already developed by Horace and Virgil. It would later be taken up by Dante.⁷⁷

It is legitimate for the reader to compare some of these points with those emerging from the study of Justinian's statue in the Augustaion (above, p. 330). But a profounder question is whether, even if we could show that Statius had been engaged in mockery of Domitian, that would justify the conclusion that somehow he was "agin' the government," a notion that has done much harm to the appreciation in our time of ancient literary sensibility. Circus freedom was of course, when taken to extremes, an act of sedition. But it was not normally taken to extremes. The more or less good-humored badinage and exchange of comic repartee between ruler and ruled was an admission of the emperor's status, not its denial. The

⁷¹ Above, p. 317. The serpent on King Æthelbald's stone (above, p. 322), representing the mouth of hell, may be compared. Obviously, this was no disrespect to the king.

⁷² K. Meuli, "Der Ursprung der olympischen Spiele," *Ges. Schriften* II (Basel-Stuttgart 1975), pp. 881 ff.; Humphrey, *Roman Circuses*, pp. 62, 258-59.

⁷³ Cf. E. Fraenkel, *Elementi plautini in Plauto* (Florence 1960), pp. 7 ff.; O. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial* (Stuttgart 1928), pp. 30 ff.; E. R. Curtius, *Römische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bem 1948), pp. 168-72.

⁷⁴ A. P. IX. 656. 11, εἰξόν in praise of the Chalke in the Palace of Anastasius.

⁷⁵ Cf. *Silvae* I. 6. 39 ff. This is why Nestor is *trisaeciesenex*: C. Buechner, *Frag. poet. latin.* (2nd ed. Leipzig 1982), p. 71 (Laevius).

⁷⁶ Expected because of his games: L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* II, pp. 1-2, citing Dio Chrys., *Or.* 71. 9 ff. (II, 268, Arn.); Tac., *Hist.* I. 4; Plutarch, *Otho* 3. This is where the concept of the emperor / charioteer links with that of immortality, as in the Ascension of Alexander (above, notes 3 and 31). The Constantinus of the epigraph to this article (*App. Plan.* 375) was only a charioteer, but it was not for nothing that he bore an imperial name.

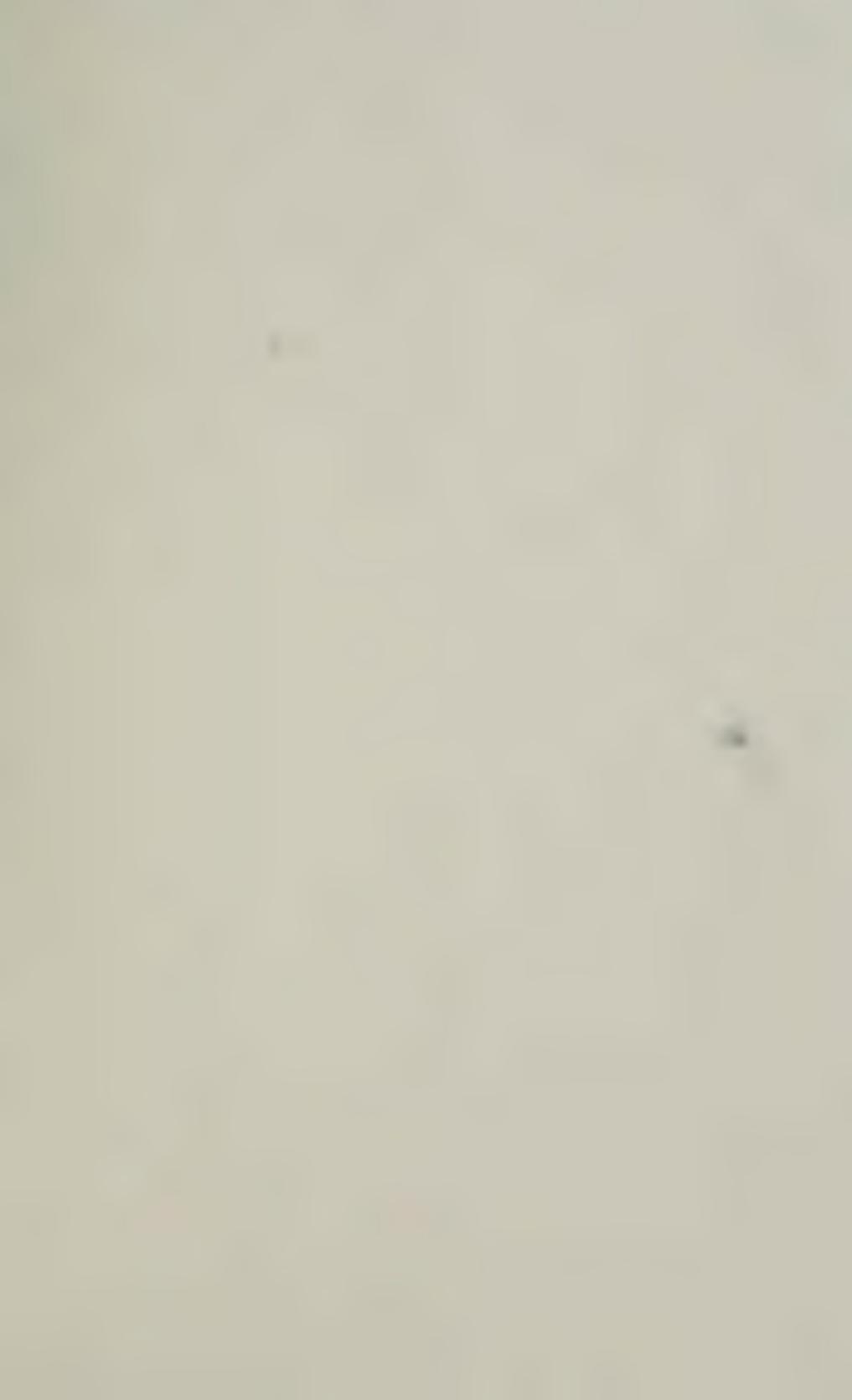
⁷⁷ Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* I. 2. 45; Dante, *Vita Nuova* XIX. 7-9; J. K. Newman, *The Classical Epic Tradition* (Madison 1986), p. 257.

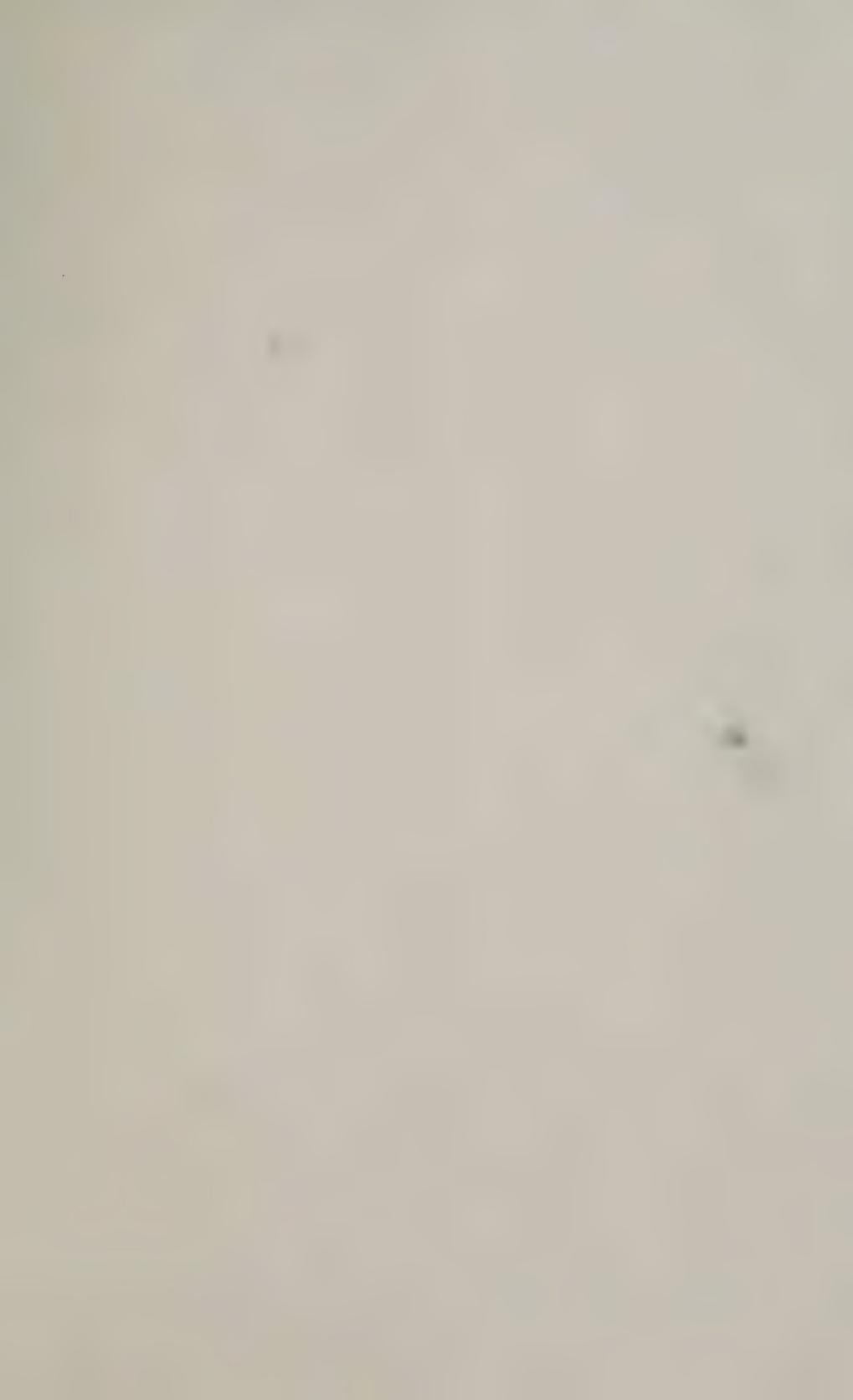
location of the statue is significant, not because it provides a chance to portend the end of a repressive regime, but because it guarantees triumph over death in a re-enactment of the patriotic sacrifice of the Curtii. Laughter is part of that same guarantee, as Can Grande knew.

The ruler in every society occupies a religious / comic status, even when (as happened to Domitian and King Æthelbald, and as still happens) he is ritually sacrificed (assassinated). His images necessarily have about them an atmosphere of comedy, sometimes disguised as public rejoicing, sometimes turning to public ridicule.⁷⁸ But even his victimization is the affirmation of his role, not its denial. Roman emperors were surprisingly tolerant of this kind of Circus freedom, and the writers who took advantage of it are not to be regarded as *ipso facto* their political enemies. When Statius exalted the colossal equestrian statue of Domitian, in so many ways the precursor of the Byzantines, he inevitably introduced into his eulogy an ambiguous note, developed more fully in the character of Adrastus in the *Thebaid*. (But in what sense was Adrastus a "bad" ruler?) That was itself an act of homage. Later, when Pushkin commented on a Russian statue in the tradition of Justinian's own image as a Bronze Horseman, he described the cruelty and cost of empire, without however meaning to make that the whole story any more than did the poet who described the encounter of Aeneas and Dido during a hunt, or that earlier poet through whose lips a Sicilian victor in the Hippodrome threatened his adversaries that he would run up on them like a wolf.

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⁷⁸ I cannot help recalling here a cartoon that appeared in an Italian magazine a few years ago. Two horses are contemplating a familiar statue in some provincial piazza. The first remarks: "Allora, questo è il famoso Garibaldi?" The second responds: "Sì, ma chi gli sta a cavallo?" Scholars would do well to read more of this Mediterranean humor before concluding that this is evidence of an undercurrent of resentment against the hero of the Risorgimento.







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